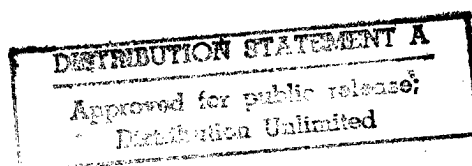


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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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The subseries SELECTIONS FROM SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY JOURNALS will no longer be published.

25 January 1984

## USSR REPORT POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### INTERNATIONAL

NATO Plans for Conventional-Arms Buildup Criticized (APN DAILY REVIEW, 28 Dec 83).....	1
Militarization of Economy Seen as 'New Stage' in Development of Capitalism (S. Menshikov; APN DAILY REVIEW, 16 Dec 83).....	3
Official Hails 'Helpful' 1983 Contacts With PRC (Moscow in Mandarin to China, 25 Dec 83).....	6
'Gratifying Change' Seen in 1983 PRC Contacts (Moscow in Mandarin to China, 27 Dec 83).....	8
Persian-Language Year-End Surveys Discuss 1983 Events in Iran (Moscow in Persian to Iran, 21, 30 Dec 83).....	10
Shift to 'Reaction,' 'Imperialism' Soviet-Iranian Economic Cooperation	
International Law Gives States Right To Jam Foreign Radio Broadcasts (G. Timofeyeva; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 48, 29 Nov 83).....	15
Anti-Semitism, Zionism Both Based on Idea of Separate Jewish Nation (L. Dadiani; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 46, 15 Nov 83).....	18

Briefs	
Syrian Irrigation Workers in Uzbekistan	21
Latin American Trade Unionists in Alma-Ata	21
Cuban Consulate in Kiev	21

#### NATIONAL

Western 'Distortions' of Soviet Forced Labor System Refuted (APN DAILY REVIEW, 15 Dec 83).....	22
TASS on Recent Criminal Code Change: Only Courts Can Impose Sentence (APN DAILY REVIEW, 20 Dec 83).....	23
Origins of 'Revolutionary Holidays' Recalled (Evgeniy Ryumin; NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 11, Nov 83).....	24
Moscow Writers' Conference Held (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 17 Dec 83).....	24
Briefs	
CPSU Documents Published	25
CPSU History Textbook	25

#### REGIONAL

Gapurov Addresses Turkmen Cottongrowers (M. G. Gapurov; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 19 Dec 83).....	26
Gapurov Addresses Ashkhabad Border Defense Conference (TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 7 Dec 83).....	30
Armenian CP CC Discusses Work of Party Organizations (Moscow Domestic Service, 20 Dec 83).....	32
Chingiz Aytmatov on Role of Bilingualism (Chingiz Aytmatov, Faiz Akhmad Faiz; VOPROSY LITERATURY, No 9, Sep 83).....	33
'Commercialism' of Private Plots on Ukrainian Kolkhoz Discussed (D. Dons'koy; RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA, 12 Oct 83).....	51
SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Views Lagging Reconstruction of Nonchernozem Zone (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 1 Nov 83).....	57
Shortcomings of Leningrad Theater Productions Discussed (LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 28 Nov 83).....	61

Krasnoyarsk Kraykom Chief on Ideological Education (P. Fedirko; POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 11, 1983).....	64
Leader of Embezzlers Sentenced to Death (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 6 Dec 83).....	64
Mari ASSR MVD Officials Dismissed, Disciplined (TRUD, 18 Dec 83).....	64
Uzbek Society for Blind Fulfills Production Plan by 12 Dec 83 (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 14 Dec 83).....	64
Turkmen Novel Praises Chekist's Role in Transforming Republic (LITERATURNNOYE OBOZRENIYE, No 11, Nov 83).....	65
Central Asian Interrepublic Affiliate of Atheism Institute Founded (A. Kuchkarov; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA, No 11, Nov 83)	68
Academics Urge Assistance for Private Bibliographic Collection (D.F. Snegin; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA No 11, Nov 83)	70

## INTERNATIONAL

### NATO PLANS FOR CONVENTIONAL-ARMS BUILDUP CRITICIZED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 28 Dec 83 pp 1-3

[I. Melnikov article: "Why Advocates of Conventional Weapons Are More Active"]

[Text] American first-strike nuclear arms are being deployed in three West European NATO countries in defiance of the peoples' will.

The ringleaders of this aggressive bloc are in a hurry, in the meantime, to go further than that. What are they up to now? They are conjuring up another danger in the shadow of Pershings and Cruise missiles--a Pentagon-projected conventional arms build-up without parallel in the past.

Some direct evidence to this effect has been furnished by the succession of NATO meetings in Brussels this December. The so-called "Eurogroup," which brought together defence ministers of 12 states, produced a communique which shows how much store the NATO strategists are now setting by "conventional" arms in their present calculations. In the coming year, as the bloc's headquarters is expecting, the West European NATO countries will have 700 tanks, mostly Leopards and Challengers, hundreds of armoured cars and artillery guns, 40,000 portable anti-tank systems, 300 new combat aircraft, eight destroyers and frigates, 10 anti-submarine ships phased in.... Each of the new type of armaments is invariably designated as modernised, new, or brand-new.

This programme is nothing short of the actual headway made in carrying through the Pentagon's long-cherished idea of speeding up the development of conventional armaments. Anti-infantry cluster bombs, capable of destroying enemy manpower over vast areas, were supplied to the American punitive squads during the Vietnam War. Somewhat later, Pentagon experts began to work on "super-clever" missiles of pinpoint accuracy, capable of following moving targets--ships or aircraft. Those are "conventional" arms all right, but with the latest scientific and technological advances built in.

The concepts of conventional arms have got a new lease of life in the presence of powerful opposition by the peace forces to the plans to deploy new nuclear missiles in Western Europe. They have even a name of their own--"Airland Battle," and a loyal standard-bearer--American General Rogers, NATO Supreme Commander in Europe. He has just been reported by the Associated Press to have called on the NATO countries to make "sacrifices" essential for the achievement of the planned level of conventional forces and armaments.

One must say that such pleas are fetching a ready response from political quarters close to the "cannon kings" of Western Europe, West Germany, first and foremost. Having been left out in the share-up of the orders for nuclear arms, they intend to make up for it with "conventional" weapons, thereby bringing their countries into the arms race.

They are using all kinds of means to do so. The "big time" West German press has made great play of the successful tests of a new multi-purpose Tornado plane. It has been singing the praise of West German designers and pilots but meant to get rid of whatever limits may still restrict the output of the latest types of military hardware by West German corporations.

I must remind everybody that almost 30 years ago, while signing the Brussels Treaty admitting West Germany to the Western European Union, official Bonn pledged itself not to manufacture some of the modern conventional armaments, as strategic bombers, long-range missiles, large-tonnage ships and submarines. Not a trace has been left of that pledge. The above-mentioned Tornado is being made on the Rhine in a glare of publicity to advertise the ability of this multi-purpose bomber to "fly as far as the Urals." The Bundeswehr has hastened to order over 300 aircraft of this type. West Germany is making land-, sea- and air-based missiles, submarines, tanks, and combat helicopters both for her own use and for export.

In short, the arms manufactures on the Rhine are making nonsense of the promises and oaths given out of fright three decades ago by those whose Junkerses bombed Moscow and London and whose Tigers sowed death and destruction. The U.S.-West German agreement, concluded earlier this month, has been a further move in that direction. Under it, Bonn will be buying Patriot ground-to-air missiles to replace the old Nike-Hercules now in service.

It would be too naive to pass off the "conventional" arms Washington is plumping for as no more than complementing and developing the arms that have been in existence for decades, that is, as a kind of "materialisation" of Kipling's soldiers' song of colonial times: "Boots-boots-boots-boots-moving' up and down again...." For the arms in question have a fire power comparable to that of minor nuclear missiles. Both become extremely dangerous for all mankind once in the plans of NATO strategists and in the hands of the Pentagon brass-hats.

(PRAVDA, 27 December. In full.)

CSO: 1812/76



## INTERNATIONAL

### MILITARIZATION OF ECONOMY SEEN AS 'NEW STAGE' IN DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 16 Dec 83 pp 1-4

[Article by S. Menshikov: "World Capitalism Today: The Danger of Total Militarization"]

[Text] The arms race has considerably intensified in the years of the economic crisis. A new round in it has been launched by the U.S. administration. Other industrialized capitalist countries are also rapidly increasing their military expenditure. NATO's aggressive quarters led by U.S. imperialism want to attain military superiority over the socialist nations. But there also exist deep political and economic reasons for the stepping-up of military preparations: a new stage in the evolution of the military-industrial complex is taking shape.

Arms manufacturers feared that detente would reduce the level of militarization. The American military-industrial complex installed its henchmen in power. They were set the task of ensuring within at least several decades a steady growth in the military budget irrespective of detente and other "by-effects."

The strategic armaments programme declared by the U.S. President in the autumn of 1981 provided for a modernization of the strategic triad to the tune of billions upon billions of dollars in the period up to the late 1980s. But that seemed too little. In the spring of 1983 a "competent" commission under General Skowcraft and consisting of arms manufacturers issued a report which suggested deploying new strategic Midgetman missiles in the 1990s. In the same period the U.S. President advanced a plan for setting up a large-scale ABM defense in violation of all earlier international commitments taken on itself by Washington. If approved, this "far-sighted" plan would keep all airspace industry enterprises running at full capacity up to the second decade of the 21st century.

These sinister schemes have far-reaching socioeconomic and political consequences. They may turn modern state-monopoly capitalism into chiefly military capitalism. Under this type of capitalism, the greater part of national product, production, manpower and finance is geared to a steadily mounting arms race, while economic and political life is dominated by the military-industrial complex and trans-national financial oligarchy.

Another characteristic feature of the new stage in the development of the military-industrial complex is its growing internationalization. This is especially true of the United States as well as Britain, West Germany, France, Italy and Japan.

Britain is developing its nuclear potential. By 1995 it plans to make the capacity of its nuclear warheads equal to 10 tons of trinitrotoluol for each inhabitant with the average concentration per square mile 5 times more than in the United States today. West Germany leads NATO in per capita military spendings. Italy is to become Washington's chief assistant in the Middle East. The Japanese militarists want to eliminate "disproportions" between the country's industrial and military potential. With their developed war industries, South Africa and Israel have also become militarist powers and leading arms exporters.

"Military capitalism" has ceased to be only an ominous spectre. The old concepts of prosperity through armament are reviving again. Experts of the U.S. administration intend to achieve a new economic rise through military orders and not thanks to growing investments in civil branches.

The consequences of the permanent arms race are truly destructive. Military expenses decrease allocations to production and impede economic growth. A sharp turn from investments in civil branches to military expenditures even further complicates the problem of unemployment. According to American statistics, \$1 billion spent on an MX missile system can create 53,000 jobs. The same sum could create 65,000 jobs if earmarked to the use of solar energy.

Long economic decay, mass disappointment and pessimism, and the growing influence of reactionary circles and the military industrial complex may curtail bourgeois democracy and give rise to fascism.

Demoralized by ultrareactionaries' attacks, bourgeois reformists are unable to suggest a clearcut programme of overcoming the crisis, decay, and unemployment. Their speculations about "reindustrialization" (stimulating investment in commodity sectors), corporative planning, "social partnership," and state subsidies to private corporations are not met with enthusiasm.

In this complicated situation the actions of progressive workers' organizations acquire special importance. In view of the crisis, they have stepped up organized protests against the ruling circles' attacks on the vital interests and rights of the working people.

Of paramount significance for workers' organizations is to draw up a democratic programme of overcoming the crisis and map out real ways of reducing unemployment, ensuring employment, and raising the national economy. In their view, the minimum measures in this field should include freezing military expenses; creating more jobs; stimulating industries to meet the masses' demands; highlighting research in such paramount problems as provision with energy and foodstuffs, development and preservation of natural resources, and environmental protection; control over prices; development of social insurance, public health, and education; economic cooperation with all countries without discrimination and any other means of trade and economic war; and development of contacts with socialist nations.

Such a minimum programme calls for democratic reforms in the capitalist countries' economies and international economic relations. These reforms should at least restrict the domination of the military-industrial complex and transnationals.

The most difficult thing sometimes is to convince disappointed and hesitating people that their struggle for the right to work, for jobs, economic growth, and material well-being cannot be crowned with success if it is not accompanied by a mass movement against new missiles, military expenditures and extreme reaction's chauvinist and anticomunist slogans. This struggle today is part of the efforts for preventing nuclear catastrophe and ensuring the right to live.

(PRAVDA, December 5, Abridged.)

CSO: 1812/74

## INTERNATIONAL

### OFFICIAL HAILS 'HELPFUL' 1983 CONTACTS WITH PRC

OW290431 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1230 GMT 25 Dec 83

[Text] Dear Listeners: The year 1983 is coming to an end. As a rule, at the end of the year one sums up the work of the past year and draws up future plans. In this connection, the following is our station reporter's interview with Kruglova, responsible secretary of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society Central Council, on the society's activities in 1983. Comrade Kruglova said: The Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society has continued to carry out its activities in 1983, introducing to the Soviet people in various circles the Leninist internationalist policy implemented by the CPSU and Soviet Government toward China. The following are some concrete examples:

The Soviet people celebrated the 34th founding anniversary of the People's Republic of China. A gala concert staged by famous Soviet artists was held at the House of Friendship Among the People of Various Countries in Moscow. The Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society also introduced to the Soviet people various events in Chinese history and cultural life. In 1982, we commemorated the 60th anniversary of the "7 February Strike," the 50th founding anniversary of the Chinese film workers' association, the 85th birth anniversary of the famous Chinese Communist activist Zhang Tailei and of the Chinese writer Lao She, as well as the 30th anniversary of the death of Chinese painter Xu Beihong. As for activities concerning the history of Soviet-Chinese relations, I wish to especially mention a gathering of former Soviet military experts who helped the Chinese people in various stages of their liberation struggle. The staff members of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union attended many activities sponsored by the society.

Comrade Kruglova went on to say: Our society was very happy to receive many Chinese guests. In 1983 we received the Chinese gymnasts taking part in the IZVESTIYA cup international tournament and a tournament in Riga, the Chinese women's volleyball team playing friendship matches with Soviet teams, the Chinese film workers attending the 13th international film festival in Moscow, and the Chinese railway crew of the Beijing-Moscow train.

The resumption of contacts between the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association was an important event in the activities of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. A delegation of the

Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association visited the Soviet Union from 3 to 18 July. A special tour group of activists of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, which was led by Academician Tikhvinsky, first deputy chairman of the society, visited the People's Republic of China in October 1983. During the 2-week visit, the group toured Beijing, Guilin, Guangzhou, Shanghai and Xian, visited various Chinese industrial and agricultural enterprises and schools, and had conversations with Chinese workers, peasants and intellectuals.

In late November, a special tour group of activists of the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association led by Liang Shufen, vice governor of the Hubei Provincial People's Government and vice chairman of the Hubei branch of the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association, visited the Soviet Union. During the 16-day visit the Chinese guests toured Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Baku, and Sumgait. The exchanges of the tour groups by the society and the association are helpful for resuming and developing the friendship between the Soviet and Chinese people.

In conclusion, Comrade Kruglova said: We believe that the expansion of contacts between the society and its Chinese counterpart is in line with the interests of the Soviet and Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/295

## INTERNATIONAL

### 'GRATIFYING CHANGE' SEEN IN 1983 PRC CONTACTS

OW290451 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1230 GMT 27 Dec 83

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] Dear Chinese listeners: 1983 will soon be over. At this time of year people always make it a practice to review the work accomplished in the past year and draw up future plans. What advances have been made in Soviet-Chinese relations in 1983? Here is the view of an observer of this station.

In recent years, particularly in 1983, certain gratifying changes have taken place in Soviet-Chinese relations. Special envoys of the USSR and China held two rounds of talks in Moscow and Beijing. The State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control of the USSR and China's State Meteorological Bureau reached an agreement and signed a protocol on improving the operation of the meteorological lines between Moscow and Beijing, and between Khabarovsk and Beijing. The trade volume between the two countries also increased. Soviet-Chinese border trade was also resumed at Korgas in China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

Contacts in other spheres also gradually developed. For example: The exchange of students was reinstated in 1983 and, after an interruption of 20 years, contacts between the two countries' friendship associations were also restored. A delegation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association, headed by Liang Geng, vice president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, visited the USSR in July. In October a group composed of members of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and activists of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society visited China. In November, a group composed of activists of the Chinese Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association also visited the USSR. The Soviet people are particularly pleased with such good developments, and they have expressed the hope that Soviet-Chinese relations will be further improved.

At a meeting with the delegation of the Chinese Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, Kruglova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, said:

[Begin recording of Kruglova's remarks in Russian fading into superimposed Mandarin translations] It is our earnest hope that, after more than 20 years of interruption of relations, you friends from China, including those who visited our country more than 20 years ago, can see the USSR of today with your own eyes. We hope that this visit will make concrete contributions to the cause of friendship and mutual understanding between people's sincere wish that not only should our two countries be good neighbors but that they should also become really good friends. I want to convince my Chinese guests that the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society will continue to work for the lofty goal of strengthening the ties between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. [end recording]

Not long ago Alekseyev, a Soviet writer, joined the group of activists of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese relations, he told a reporter of this station that he wished the friendly ties between the Soviet and Chinese peoples would be strengthened, and that the relations between the two peoples be constantly broadened. He added, however, that a lot of things have to be accomplished in order to establish genuine friendship and uninterrupted ties.

Representatives of the Chinese people who visited the USSR in 1983 also supported the further growth of Chinese-Soviet friendship. In an interview with a reporter of this station (Guan Daren), who came from China to attend an UN-sponsored international seminar on cartography held in Moscow in September 1983, said:

[Begin recording] The USSR is the hometown of world revolution. The Chinese people always cherish profound friendship for the Soviet people. They attach great importance to developing friendship with the Soviet people. I am pleased that here in Moscow I have found that the Soviet people have the same kind of feeling. I have learned that the two countries' exchanges in the cultural, sports, scientific and technological fields have been enhanced. Scientific and technological exchanges certainly will benefit both countries and both peoples. I hope the exchanges will continue to grow in this area. [End recording]

Liang Shufen, head of the delegation of activists of the Chinese Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association, and vice governor of Hubei, also pointed out:

[Begin recording] We sincerely hope that the great friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples will last forever. The promotion and development of such friendship not only is in the interest of our two peoples but it is also in the interest of Asian and world peace.

Dear Chinese listeners: You have just heard views on Soviet-Chinese relations expressed by representatives of the Soviet and Chinese peoples. Their remarks prove that people of our two countries hope Soviet-Chinese relations will be further improved.

CSO: 4005/295

## INTERNATIONAL

### PERSIAN-LANGUAGE YEAR-END SURVEYS DISCUSS 1983 EVENTS IN IRAN

#### Shift To 'Reaction,' 'Imperialism'

NC310930 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Igor Sheftunov Commentary: "The Year of Dogged Struggles by the People of Iran Against Reaction and Imperialism"]

[Text] When assessing the results of 1983, it should be stressed that this year was marked in Iran with great efforts by domestic reaction and imperialism to prevent the realization of the 11 February slogan of "freedom, independence and social justice."

Throughout the past year Iran's bourgeoisie, big merchants, landlords and conservative clergymen attacked the revolutionary gains of the Iranian people in various fields. This was something which satisfied the imperialists. After ending the confiscation of private enterprises, the process of returning these to their previous owners began. The introduction of the labor law in Iran which banned strikes and the forming of unions, and which granted domestic and foreign entrepreneurs more opportunities to exploit toilers was warmly welcomed by the West. Land that was previously taken and handed over to farmers was returned to many landlords. The FINANCIAL TIMES, the organ of British monopolies, very happily pointed out that the firm supporters of a free market economy, that is, supporters of capitalism, are gaining more and more access to power in Iran and it stressed that thus once again greater possibilities are being created in Iran for the activities of Western monopolies. These circles have resorted to extensive aggression against those forces in Iran which have consistently struggled against the Shah's reactionary regime and the imperialists' supremacy, which actively participated in the 11 February revolution and which are now defending that revolution's ideals.

In Bahman [period from 21 January to 19 February], Iranian reaction imprisoned Tudeh Party activists and thus inflicted a blow on the leader of Iran's working class and on the major struggler against capitalist oppression. Throughout 1983 in Iran not only the arrest of members of the Tudeh Party, but also of its sympathizers continued.

In Ordibehesht [period from 21 April to 21 May], the Tudeh Party was officially banned. Iranian officials broadcast a rehearsed television play starring mem-



bers of the party who had been tortured. A slanderous anti-Soviet clamor, which is still continuing, started in Iran. Other attempts to cloud relations with the Soviet Union were also made. (?All these steps) were taken to facilitate the infiltration of Western monopolies in Iran. Local exploiters and Western monopolies want to oppress Iran's toilers like before and to plunder the country's wealth. These attempts by Iran's officials were appreciated by U.S. President Reagan who called on leaders of the largest imperialist countries during a meeting in the small U.S. town of Williamsburg to support more actively the activities of Iran's rightist forces.

While the imperialists fully endorse the persecution of patriots that the Iranian officials are resorting to, the Iranian people's opinion on this is very different. When on 1 Mehr [22 September] officials tried to organize demonstrations to condemn the Tudeh Party, they succeeded in gathering only a few hundred people in Tehran in a street demonstration.

Throughout the past year the Iranian people rose, in one way or other, in a confrontation with reaction and the imperialists. This confrontation was manifested by the Iranian workers' protest against reactionary laws on unions. As a result Tavakkoli, minister of labor and one of the sponsors of the new bill, had to resign. Farmers in various parts of the country protested against the returning of land to landlords. The people's dissatisfaction over the ever-increasing cost of living and the unprecedented level of unemployment increased. Although officials arrest large groups of workers, farmers and intellectuals they cannot silence the voice of this dissatisfaction.

In mid-Azar [period from 22 November to 21 December], in a bid to terrify the masses, the trial of Iran's patriots, including activists of the Tudeh Party, was staged in Tehran. Holding this contrived trial behind closed doors proves that the organizers of this dirty effort are afraid to unveil their own acts as fire is afraid of water because this trial is backfiring against its organizers more and more each day.

Despite the fact that they were under physical and psychological torture for many months by the most expert CIA-trained former elements of the secret police, SAVAK, many of the patriots prove the baselessness of accusations being made. As the Tudeh Party pointed out in its special statement, the continuation of criminal acts show, more and more clearly each day, who the organizers of these acts are. These people are pro-imperialist and pro-reactionary elements that consider the Tudeh Party of Iran--an organization which, for more than 40 years, has been struggling for national independence, freedom and social justice--a major obstacle in the implementation of their own counterrevolutionary plots. The Tudeh Party statement says that the policy adopted by imperialism is aimed at returning Iran to imperialist domination and, on the international scale, at further escalating the crusade against communism and the Soviet Union.

All the world's progressive people confirm the Iranian people's just struggles. Social circles in Europe, Asia, Africa and America condemn the persecution of Iranian patriots and, especially, of members of the Tudeh Party. Participants in a gathering of several thousand people in Delhi, expressed the zealous support of the Indian people in a resolution for the Iranian people who are resisting efforts by domestic rightist forces and imperialism to tie Iran behind the bandwagon of U.S. policy.

The Soviet people too support the wish of all peoples, including the Iranian people, for progress toward independence and social welfare. The USSR Supreme Soviet once again stressed this in its decree on the world situation and on the Soviet Government's foreign policy which was approved unanimously on Thursday. In this document imperialist intervention in the affairs of countries and of independent nations is severely denounced, and the fact that the Soviet Union's policy on the expansion of cooperation between nations has remained unchanged has been confirmed. The Supreme Soviet pointed out the importance of the statement by Soviet leader, Yuriy Andropov, who has said that the proponents of world supremacy are trying, under the veil of anti-communism, to establish the system they favor wherever they do not meet resistance.

Undoubtedly in the new year too, as in the past year, the forces of imperialism and reaction will try to trample, wherever they have the slightest opportunity, on the holy right of each nation to social progress and independent development. Only if the world's nations display alertness and decisiveness and resistance will they be able to thwart these plans of imperialism and reaction.

In concluding my remarks today, dear listeners, I express my wishes for the further success of each and every one of you in 1984. Thank you for your attention. I greet you until my next talk.

#### Soviet-Iranian Economic Cooperation

NC221000 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Unattributed Commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, 1983 is ending. Soviet and Iranian economic-technical cooperation continued in 1983 and new industrial units that had been set up in Iran with Soviet technical assistance were handed over for use.

The Soviet Union has never set up nonessential units for Iran's economy, or demonstrative units in order to raise its prestige. All the industrial and other units that have been built with Soviet assistance have played and still do play an important part in the creation, consolidation and development of Iran's national independent economy, as well as help to elevate the level of employment and the people's welfare.

So far a total of 108 industrial units have been built in Iran with Soviet assistance.

The commissioning of High Furnace No 2 at the Esfahan Steel Mill was the most important event in the past year. The commissioning of this high furnace is tantamount to starting a new phase in the enlargement of the Esfahan Steel Mill--Iran's largest industrial unit--and in the increase of its production capacity from 550,000 tons to 1.9 million tons of steel annually.

On this occasion we want to point out that 1983 marked the 10th anniversary of the operation of the Esfahan Steel Mill. During the 10 years of the Esfahan Steel Mill's operation it was proven that Soviet technical installations at

the mill operate very efficiently and that its production capacity is more than the quantity foreseen in the project. In his speech at a meeting on the occasion of the commissioning of High Furnace No 2 at the steel mill, President Khamene'i referred particularly to the importance of the Esfahan Steel Mill for the progress and development of the country's economy, for ensuring the complete independence of Iran's economy, and for removing all dependence on foreign countries. Mines and Metals Minister Ahmadabadi [name as heard] thanked the Soviet Union for its assistance in the construction and commissioning of the plant. During the 10 years of the mill's operation--which is Iran's only steel plant with a complete (?production) cycle--about six million tons of steel have been melted there. As a result, Iran has economized large amounts of foreign exchange by decreasing the imports of steel products from foreign countries. The installation and commission of this plant made it possible for tens of thousands of Iranian workers and engineers to be trained and to increase their level of expertise. At present, the steel complex, including the coal and fuel base that was also built with Soviet assistance, employs more than 60,000 people.

In 1983, the second section of the power generator with an output of 315,000 kilowatts became operational at the Ramin Thermal Power Plant in Ahvaz. The construction of this power generator is being carried out by Soviet organizations under contract. Several thousand Iranian experts are working there. The Ramin power plant supplies electricity to the Khuzestan area in the south of Iran which is of extreme economic importance. Activities pertaining to the construction of the third and fourth generators of this power plant continue. In the coming year, the third generator of this thermal power plant is expected to be handed over for use.

Last year, the Iranian side accepted the electrified 147-km Julfa-Tabriz railway, which is Iran's first electrified railway, for permanent use. This railway was electrified by Soviet organizations and Iran's special cargo, which is carried via the Soviet Union in transit, is carried by this railway. Naturally, the electrification of only part of the important Julfa-Tehran railway (?cannot) fully solve the problem of increased cargo circulation. As of today the Iranian side has been unable to accept as many railway cars at Julfa station as had a previously been agreed upon.

Logis demands that activities on the electrification of this railway continue. As a result, the circulation of goods between the Soviet Union and Iran will increase greatly. This is solely to the benefit of the Iranian people because a large quantity of cargo and other commodities for Iran are carried in transit through Soviet territory.

During the past year, the construction of grain elevators also continued and a number of grain elevators were commissioned. Soviet and Iranian organizations have years of enormous experience in this area.

In October 1983, the Mashhad grain elevator--with a capacity of 113,000 tons and one of the largest grain elevators in the Middle East--became permanently operational. In addition, during the current year the grain elevators in Neka', Yasuj and Shahr-e Kord became permanently operations, while the operation of the grain elevators in Semnan and Jiroft was guaranteed.

The Soviet Union's assistance to Iran in the construction of grain elevators plays an important part in solving the problem of providing the Iranian people with bread, which is an extremely important problem. Meanwhile, it should be said that the capacity of the grain elevators which have been built in Iran with Soviet assistance surpasses the (?half) million-ton mark.

The year 1983 has been an important year in the history of Soviet-Iranian economic relations. In 1983, the 20th anniversary of the first Soviet-Iranian economic-technical cooperation agreement was marked. Even a brief glance at the history of cooperation during the past 20 years allows us to conclude that the Soviet Union's pure assistance based on the principle of goodneighborliness has played an extremely important role in the development of Iran's independent national economy. With Soviet cooperation, new economic areas, which did not previously exist--namely the steel, coal extraction, and gas industries, and the heavy machinery building plant--have been built and the electricity, transportation and education industries have progressed.

At the same time, when we glance at the events of the past year, we unfortunately also conclude that all the possibilities for economic cooperation between the two neighboring countries based on the principle of goodneighborliness have not yet been fully tapped. Unfortunately, during the current year unfriendly steps were taken against Soviet experts who had been invited by the Iranian Government for technical assistance and efforts were also made to distort the nature of our bilateral economic relations which have always been based on the principle of goodneighborliness, mutual respect, nonintervention in domestic affairs, and mutual benefits. Even though Soviet-Iranian economic-technical cooperation during the past 20 years showed that it can prosper and is beneficial for the progress of Iran's national economy, we should not forget that the Standing Committee of Soviet-Iranian Economic Cooperation which is an important means for regulating our bilateral economic relations has not met for a long time and the outlook of our cooperation is not clear. Soviet organizations have never refused to extend technical assistance to the Iranian people and, at the same time, they have never imposed this assistance on their neighbor.

We fully believe that despite the opposition by some anti-Soviet elements, Soviet-Iranian economic-technical cooperation will continue because this cooperation is to the benefit of the Iranian and Soviet people.

CSO: 4640/96

## INTERNATIONAL

### INTERNATIONAL LAW GIVES STATES RIGHT TO JAM FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 48, 29 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by G. Timofeyeva: "For Purity of the Air"]

[Text] International law watches over the interests of states in the face of radio aggression by imperialism. The peoples of the world are more determinedly trying to disseminate its norms and principles in exchange of information between countries.

In recent years, a series of documents has been adopted by the UN and UNESCO emphasizing attention on the need to use the mass information media in the interest of peace, detente, development of international cooperation and against the arms race.

As for radio broadcasting, one of the most powerful means of propaganda, reference should be made to such a fundamental document as the Convention of the International Union of Telecommunications, the participation of which are 154 states. The convention provides for limitation of freedom in the use of electric communication when it "threatens the security of a state or contravenes public order and moral principles" (Article 32).

An important role in the elaboration of a "code of behavior" for radio broadcasting services in the international arena has been played by the Convention on the Use of Radio Broadcasting in the Interest of Peace, adopted at a special diplomatic conference convened by the League of Nations in Geneva in 1936. This document, whose title speaks for itself, deals with the tasks of radio broadcasting exclusively in the spirit of development of neighborliness and mutual understanding among peoples.

At the concluding session of the Geneva conference, some states made written reservations to the text of the document relative to the possibility of curbing broadcasts from abroad if they interfere in their internal affairs. Thus Belgium stated that states can "jam with their own means incompatible broadcasts emanating from another country... in conformity with general provisions of international law...." Spain left itself the right "to cut off with all possible means propaganda that can hurt internal order in Spain and is a violation of the convention...." The Soviet Union, in ratifying this document, also reserved the right "to take any steps for the protection of its

interests both in case of nonobservance of the provisions of the convention by other states and also in case of other actions violating the interests of the USSR."

It is revealing that the United States did not affix its signature to the Geneva convention, as its principles contradict the aims of the strategists of "psychological war." The United States also did not ratify the International Pact on Civil and Political rights of 1966, calling upon the states to forbid any propaganda of war as well as statements aimed at fomenting national, religious or racial discord and hatred.

Because of the negative position of the American side, the UNESCO Declaration on Fundamental Principles Pertaining to Contribution of Mass Information Media to Strengthening Peace and International Mutual Understanding adopted in 1978 failed to include important progressive provisions.

The United States voted against the "Principles of Utilization by States of Artificial Satellites of the Earth for International Direct Television Broadcasting," discussed last year at the UN General Assembly, reserving the possibility of television broadcasts via satellites to other countries only with the agreement of their governments.

On the other hand, Washington since 1945 has been determinedly striving for recognition in international law of the principle of nonlimitation of "freedom of information." In practice, this means the inability of a state to protect itself from alien propaganda pressure by the United States and other Western powers. But most countries do not accept such an approach.

Even at the dawn of development of other forms of broadcasting, states tried to provide means of fighting against their abuse. As for the practice of jamming foreign broadcast, this was done for the first time by Austria in the '30s. The country was obliged to resort to this in order to suppress radio broadcasts of the Third Reich, which was using them for the purpose of providing propaganda support for their plans of forced annexation of Austria to Germany.

Today in the West, they are trying to commit such cases to oblivion. The opinion is being spread that jamming of broadcasts is ostensibly the prerogative of the socialist countries. While demagogically declaring that the "free world is open to any information, the West's ruling circles, especially the United States, are actually doing everything to hinder it.

Americans are practically deprived of the possibility of listening to foreign broadcasts. Thus according to data in the beginning of the '70s, only 0.75 percent of all receivers of American make were provided with a short-wave range needed for receiving broadcasts from abroad.

A refined system has existed for a long time in the United States of isolating the population from foreign information, first and foremost from the socialist countries. These purposes are also being objectively served by the introduction in the United States of closed systems of cable and cassette television,

restricting the possibilities of receiving foreign television broadcasts by means of communication satellites. At the same time, the U.S. delegation at the UN is determinedly seeking international agreement for uncontrolled television broadcasts from abroad by states.

The diversionary activities of the United States in the air are not limited solely to the dissemination of deceitful and falsified information. In violation of the norms of international law, the United States is engaged in jamming on the territories of third countries undesirable, from its point of view, of broadcasts from abroad, particularly from the USSR. Without the knowledge of interested states, the United States is using foreign territories for the creation of systems of radio interception, eavesdropping on communications lines and the like. This by the way was shown by an "incident" involving a South Korean plane when the texts of radio interceptions were published in the West.

How does one evaluate such piratic actions of the United States as utilization of radio frequencies allocated by the International Union of Electric Communication to states, particularly to our country, which interfere with the normal operation of Soviet radio stations?

Declaring measures of states for the protection of national airwaves to be a violation of the notorious "freedom of information, imperialist circles would like to provide for themselves a completely free hand for further acts of sabotage. But such demagogic methods can hardly contribute to shaking the persistent idea of the West's radio services as tools of political conspiracies against the freedom and independence of peoples.

7697

CSO: 1807/72

## INTERNATIONAL

### ANTI-SEMITISM, ZIONISM BOTH BASED ON IDEA OF SEPARATE JEWISH NATION

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 46, 15 Nov 83 p 6

[Article by L. Dadiani, candidate of juridical sciences: "Anti-Semitism and Zionism--Two Sides of the Same Coin"]

[Text] Zionism is Jewish bourgeois nationalism containing a chauvinistic, racist ideology based on the antiscientific thesis of "the existence of the worldwide Jewish people" whose center is the state of Israel. Zionism is also a proimperialist (in recent years--imperialist) political current expressing the interests of Israel's ruling circles and a large bourgeoisie of Jewish origin joined to monopolistic capital of the imperialist states, first and foremost the United States.

From the time of its inception, Zionism has answered and continues to answer to the class interests of world imperialism as a whole. After the formation of Israel (May 1948), imperialism, and first of all the ruling circles of the United States, have been most actively utilizing international and national Zionist organizations for the accomplishment of their policy both on a global and regional scale (principally in the Near East) and in individual countries.

International Zionism in our days is a tool of imperialism in its struggle against the USSR and the whole socialist community, the international communist and workers as well as the national liberation movement, first of all in the Arabian East. The basic content of contemporary Zionism both as an ideology and as a political current is chauvinism, racism, anticommunism and antisovietism.

#### Different Approaches--Same Aim

The ideologues of Zionism and their allies handle the "Jewish question" quite antiscientifically, in a particularly chauvinist and racist spirit, most closely tying it in to the dogma concerning "perpetual antisemitism." Actually this is a general Zionist-antisemitic thesis to the effect that Jews at all times and everywhere, aside from "their country," have been a "foreign body."

Marxists-Leninists understand by the Jewish question the position of Jews possessing no or unequal political rights in an exploiting society, their life under conditions of race, national and sometimes even religious



discrimination because of the ruling classes ably using the method of "divide and conquer" and artificially creating national and religious friction and enmity between Jews and non-Jews. Regardless of what demagoguery Zionists might resort to, life convincingly shows that the Jewish question has existed and continues to exist only in exploiting social-economic structures, particularly under capitalism. Under the conditions of socialist society, however, the question of the position and rights of workers of Jewish, or of any nationality is solved fairly, democratically and excludes any race or national discrimination, any race or national privileges.

Both Zionists and antisemites, proceeding from their class and chauvinistic aims, have the nationalist-race factor as their cornerstone. At the same time, Zionists declare the Jews to be the "chosen people," the "light of mankind," while the antisemites attribute to them all that is negative, base and pernicious, representing them as the epitome of all human vices and defects.

In this way, dispensing with their various essentially identical racist ideas, the Zionists and antisemites complement each other as it were. They actually operate as a single front against the objective, progressive process of natural, voluntary assimilation and against mixed marriages. They speak of "purity of race and blood," that is, for the traditions and atmosphere actually of a unique new ghetto, first of all in the spiritual realm.

Antisemitically inclined state figures of bourgeois countries in the period before World War I and between the two world wars eagerly strove to make contacts and to cooperate with Zionist leaders. Both in the past and in our days, the overwhelming majority of Zionist leaders not only quite actively used and use antisemitism in their own interests but are also interested in fomenting antisemitic frames of mind and have frequently cooperated and still cooperate with the most inveterate antisemites.

Zionist ideologues attempt to pass themselves off as ideological and political enemies of fascism. At the same time, common elements of their ideological platform as well as a number of aspects of the policy and practice of Zionism and fascism are based on chauvinism and racism as well as on diehard anticommunism and antisovietism.

#### Zionists in the Role of Antisemites

As we know, a Zionist dogma states that the formation of a Jewish state should in itself contribute to the elimination and disappearance of antisemitism. Its untenability is obvious today. In a whole series of capitalist countries and nations, antisemitism today not only exists but is even growing. Its tip is aimed as always against the poor strata of the Jewish population. It should be emphasized that Zionist leaders are not conducting a struggle against the existing and growing antisemitism in capitalist countries, but then they howl provocatively and slanderously that at the present time it exists in the USSR and the other socialist countries.

It is noteworthy that while force-pumping antisovietism and anticommunism, Zionist leaders immediately label as antisemitism and as actions inimical

to Jews, Judaism and the state of Israel any unpleasantness or disagreement with antiscientific, antipopular, antinational ideas of Zionism for the Israeli people themselves and laboring Jews of other countries as well as any criticism of the adventuristic policy of Israel's ruling circles.

Zionist leaders and ideologues do not simply add <sup>add</sup> grist to the mill of antisemitic circles but actually appear as genuine antisemites.

First, Zionists, by foisting their reactionary ideology on Jewish communities of different countries, evoke and provoke mistrust toward Jews among the population of many countries and foment antisemitic moods.

Second, they propagandize and fan hatred and contempt for Arabs. They maintain a racist, anti-Arab policy in Israel itself, especially in the occupied territories, a policy developing into genocide.

Third, Zionist leaders and ideologues in one way or another maltreat, insult and persecute broad masses of the Jewish population in different countries of the world, as they consider only those to be "real Jews" who belong to Jewish organizations and accept the dogmas of Zionism.

Fourth, the aggressive adventuristic policy of the Zionist rulers of Israel, as repeatedly emphasized by the Communist Party of Israel, is of an antinational character.

Communists have always conducted and still conduct a principled, consistent and steadfast struggle against any and all forms and manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism and racism. Expressing the interests of progressive peoples of the whole world, the international Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in 1969 in Moscow called upon all democratic forces for a struggle against "misanthropic ideology and practice of racism.., against racial and national discrimination, Zionism and antisemitism, which are being fomented by capitalist reactionary forces and are being used by them for the political disorientation of the masses."

In our country, the national feelings and national worth of every person are respected. The CPSU, it was pointed out at the 26th party congress, has fought and always will decisively fight against such manifestations alien to socialism as nationalism, against any nationalist quirks such as, for example, antisemitism or Zionism.

7697

CSO: 1807/78

## INTERNATIONAL

### BRIEFS

SYRIAN IRRIGATION WORKERS IN UZBEKISTAN--(UZTAG)--A delegation of irrigation workers from the Syrian Arab Republic, headed by the general director of the land reclamation company Taha al-Atrapem, is visiting Uzbekistan. The delegation members have acquainted themselves with the experience of Uzbek land reclamation workers, examined irrigation systems and water projects in the Hungry Steppe, and went to Bukhara and Samarkand. [Text] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 Dec 83 p 2]

LATIN AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISTS IN ALMA-ATA--A delegation of trade union workers from several Latin American countries, which is visiting our country at the invitation of AUCTUC, was in the capital of Kazakhstan for 4 days. Menes Jose Manuel, head of the delegation and general secretary of the National Trade Union Center of Working People of Panama, told a KAZTAG correspondent: "The socioeconomic and cultural achievements of Kazakhstan impress us. Back home we will tell about Soviet people's great creative work and striving to preserve peace on earth. [Excerpts] [Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 83 p 3]

CUBAN CONSULATE IN KIEV--On 20 December, a reception was held in Kiev on the occasion of the opening of the consulate general of the Republic of Cuba. Present at the reception were representatives of party, administrative and public organizations, staff members of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as leaders of the consular representatives of the socialist countries in Kiev. The reception was attended by (Vasquez), charge d'affaires of the Republic of Cuba in the Soviet Union. [Text] [AU242026 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 21 Dec 83 AU]

CSO: 1811/20

NATIONAL

## WESTERN 'DISTORTIONS' OF SOVIET FORCED LABOR SYSTEM REFUTED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in Russian 15 Dec 83 pp 2-3

[Text] The Western mass media continue an anti-Soviet propaganda campaign about alleged use of forced labour in the USSR. The U.S. Congress recently has joined the campaign. It has passed a resolution saying that the Soviet Union widely uses convicts' labour and makes them work in extremely harsh conditions.

The Soviet legislation on penitentiary labour does provide for the use of convicts in socially useful work, regarding it as a major means of reforming and re-educating criminals, Valery Telegin, APN observer, writes.

As regards the "extremely hard conditions on convicts' labour," work required of persons under the conditions of deprivation of freedom is not easy even from the psychological point of view. However, convicts in the USSR have the same work norms as all the other citizens. They are entitled to an 8-hour working day, weekly holidays and pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work as is the case everywhere in the country. Every corrective labour colony has a school which provides general education and a vocational school. This enables prisoners to raise their educational level and acquire a trade if they have none.

If the Soviet parliamentarians chose to follow the example of the American counterparts, they could have adopted many resolutions accusing the United States of flagrant violations of fundamental human rights. More than 10 million Americans are denied the right to work; national minorities in the United States are being severely discriminated against; the Federal Bureau of Investigation keeps files on 195 million Americans, etc.

An international group of lawyers, who inspected U.S. prisons in 1979, came to the conclusion that the U.S. prison authorities practised "forced labour" which was equal to slavery and constituted a violation of the first part of the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

CSO: 1812/71

NATIONAL

TASS ON RECENT CRIMINAL CODE CHANGE: ONLY COURTS CAN IMPOSE SENTENCE

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 20 Dec 83 pp 2-3

[Text] The bias and lack of objectivity of some organs of mass media in the West become especially noticeable when they begin to judge about human rights in the USSR, NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY reports. Of late these organs have been persistently telling their readers or listeners that criminal punishment in the USSR has toughened and that camp governors have been empowered to extend the term of imprisonment many times for three to five years and that they can at will keep people in custody for an indefinite time. We read that, for example, in the French newspaper LA CROIX. And not only there.

Actually, everything is different.

As for changes in the penal legislation, they are by no means aimed at making punishment more severe. The amendments made in it in the past few years mostly prefer punishments not involving deprivation of freedom. As a result, the proportion of those to be punished in ways other than imprisonment is constantly growing.

Widely practiced is the placing of offenders in the care of collectives where they work. Not infrequently investigating bodies refer cases dealing with minor offences to courts of fellow workers.

That is the general trend of penal law and judicial practice in the USSR.

At the same time, measures are taken in certain cases to toughen up action against criminals who have been found guilty and have not reformed. Thus, Article 188 of the Penal Code of the Russian Federation had an addition inserted in it from October 1 of this year, saying that persons serving their terms in labour-corrective institutions and maliciously disobeying authorities' orders may be punished by additional deprivation of freedom.

However, the administration of labour-corrective institutions cannot themselves increase the term of imprisonment. Only court and court alone has the right in the USSR to find a person guilty and sentence him to be punished.

CSO: 1812/70

## NATIONAL

### ORIGINS OF 'REVOLUTIONARY HOLIDAYS' RECALLED

[Editorial Report] Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 30 Sep 83) on pages 13-15 carries a 1400-word article titled "Holidays Dear to the Heart" by Evgeniy Ryumin, a member of Glavpolitprosvet in the 1920's, an organization "occupied with the propagandizing of the new Soviet holidays and rites." Ryumin's article discusses the formation of the first revolutionary holidays. According to Ryumin, these holidays have their origins in pre-revolutionary party traditions; he recalls the celebration of the First of May in 1918, "the first international holiday of the Soviet people," and describes the growth of the popularity of this holiday in 1919 and 1920. Ryumin stresses the importance of such holidays and notes with satisfaction that the First of May and 7 November continue "to unite the Soviet people" as in the early years.

CSO: 1830/180

### MOSCOW WRITERS' CONFERENCE HELD

[Editorial Report] Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 17 December 1983 publishes a 300-word article on page 2 under the rubric "Conference of Writers of the Capital." The purpose of the conference of the Moscow Writers' Organization, held on 16 December, was to elect a new staff of the board and the auditing commission of the Moscow Writers' Organization. The article does not name the new officers. However, it does note that First Secretary F. F. Kuznetsov addressed the session, at which time he spoke of the artistic achievements of Moscow writers, and of the need to fulfill the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums.

CSO: 1800/220

NATIONAL

#### BRIEFS

CPSU DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED--The second volume of the ninth edition of the publication "The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee" ["KPSS v Resolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh Syezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov Ts.K."], which has been prepared by the Marxism-Leninism Institute attached to the CPSU Central Committee, has been published. The book contains the most important party documents for the period from 25 October [7 November] 1917 to 6 October 1922. It includes 25 Leninist documents which were not included in the eighth edition of the publication, the political reports of the Central Committee delivered by Vladimir Ilich Lenin at party congresses and conferences, his reports and speeches at party forums, and other materials. The book has been published by Politicheskaya Literatura Publishing House. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Dec 83]

CPSU HISTORY TEXTBOOK--The seventh edition of the textbook "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" has been published. The book details the life and activities of the party, including its many-sided fruitful political, ideological and organizational work on the basis of the decisions of the October 1964 Plenum of the Central Committee, the 23d to 26th CPSU congresses, and May and November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, for the good of the Soviet people and in the name of the victory of communism, guaranteeing peace and security of peoples, and the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas. Use is made of new party documents, and remarks expressed during the discussion of the textbook and requests for shortening it have been taken into account. The book is published by Politizdat, and is supplemented with a summary of the basic provisions of the new USSR Constitution and a chapter on the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. [Text] [LD282253 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 83]

CSO: 1800/222

## REGIONAL

### GAPUROV ADDRESSES TURKMEN COTTONGROWERS

GF031330 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 19 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Text of address by M.G. Gapurov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, to the Turkmen cottongrowers on the occasion of their fulfillment of the annual cotton production plan--date not given]

[Excerpts] The workers of Turkmenistan like all the Soviet peoples are with great satisfaction implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the instructions and recommendations of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Everywhere in the republic a persistent and active struggle have been waged for increasing production effectiveness and labor productivity and for putting into operation the available reserves.

The collectives of the republic's industrial enterprises are successfully completing the intermediate year of the 11th 5-Year Plan period. On 12 December 1983, they completed ahead of time the 3-year plan of the current 5-year plan period for the production of products. Until the end of the year hundreds of millions rubles worth of products will be produced ahead of the scheduled plan. Considerable progress has been achieved in improving the economic indicators and in other sectors of the national economy.

By verifying the Food Program, the agricultural workers have overfulfilled the plans for selling grains, vegetables, melons, silkworm cocoons, wool, eggs and astrakhan to the state. In comparison with last year the purchase of meat, milk and other agricultural and livestock products and cattle population and its productivity increased.

Another magnificent labor victory which is particularly dear to us was achieved. The heavy weather conditions this year were a severe test for the farmers. Each farm, each bridge and all the cottongrowers had to show exceptional skill and persistence. An important role in achieving an abundant harvest belongs to the appeal adopted by the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee and the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers on enhancing the care for cottonfield sowing and also belongs to the mutual supervision of the progress of fulfilling the socialist



pledges during the third year of the 5-year plan period in the oblasts, rayons and farms.

By acting against the elements opposed to high organization and by selfless labor and real popular heroism the republic's farmers planted an abundant cotton crop, successfully harvested it and fulfilled the annual plan and socialist pledges for selling raw cotton to the state. The homeland received 1.23 million tons of white gold, a quantity which is 55,000 tons more than that received last year.

Struggling for high quality of products, the republic's cottongrowers produced 74 percent of the first-rate raw cotton. Record indicators were achieved in the production of the highest quality sorts of fine-fiber cotton. The country received 326,000 tons of this cotton which is important for industry. The labor victory of farmers is a direct result of the agrarian policy pursued by the party and is a result of the great and inestimable assistance offered to the republic by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

The victory was achieved due to the great ideological and political work of the party, soviet, trade unions and Komsomol organs which managed to turn the attention of the agricultural workers to the major direction of struggle for an abundant cotton harvest in the third year of the 5-year plan period, to mobilize the kolkhozers, workers of the sovkhozes and all the collectives of the agroindustrial complex for overcoming the obstacles in the harvest path which recently were caused by nature. This required an exceptional organization, high discipline and mobilization of all forces.

The Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and government express deep regards and appreciation to the kolkhozers, sovkhoz workers, experts of agriculture and water resources, workers of the agricultural and procurement organs, workers and employees of the cities and rayon centers, students and all those who selflessly struggled for our republic victory and all those who contributed to the republic's fulfillment of the socialist pledges for selling cotton to the state.

The achieved success is due to the great organizational and political work of the party organizations. In the harvesting days thousands of communists and komsomolers worked at the most important areas and with correct words and personal examples they inspired the farm workers to the glorious work. The local people's deputies council showed high operativeness, ability to take the initiative and active influence on the progress of the harvesting campaign. They skillfully led the struggle for the rapid completion of harvesting and did everything in order to arrange the forces in the best way and in order to maintain accurate and well-coordinated work in all sectors of agricultural production.

The traditional socialist emulation among the cotton-sowing republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Azerbaijan played an important role

in the successful fulfillment of the tasks specified by the 26th CPSU congress for cottongrowing output. The useful advices and recommendations of the mutual check brigades and the progressive experience accumulated by our friends enrich our work and lead to the achievement of good results. All the Soviet peoples have their great contribution to the successes of Turkmenistan's agricultural workers. In the plantation and achievement of an abundant harvest, we were helped by the workers of the RSFSR, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Kirgizia and other fraternal republics. They supply us with tractors, excavation planning technology, cotton harvesting and agricultural machines, mineral fertilizers, chemical poisons and many other things.

Noting the successes of our cottongrowers I would like to say something about the remarkable work of the vegetable and melons growers who also fulfilled their plans. The farms of Ashkhabad, (Gyaur) and Geok-Tepin rayons have achieved the highest levels in fulfilling the socialist pledges for selling vegetables. It follows particularly to note the successes of the Soviet Turkmenistan kolkhoz in (Gyaur) rayon and the 40th anniversary of the Turkmen SSR kolkhoz in Ashkhabad rayon.

The increase in melon production has considerably allowed for the delivery of melons in the all-union stock. Over 164,000 tons of vegetables, melons and grapes were sent to Moscow, Leningrad and other industrial centers in the country.

The delivery of livestock products is being carried out ahead of schedule. The state annual plan for the purchase of wool, eggs and astrakhan was fulfilled. Processing of milk and meat is being completed.

While noting the achieved successes we, at the same time, understand with full responsibility that there are inadequate reserves in the republic's agricultural production, with the use of which it would have been possible to achieve further high indicators in the fulfillment of the Food Program.

The tasks of the party, Soviet and agricultural organs, directors, and experts of the kolkhozes, sovkhoses and the entire agroindustrial complex is to complete harvesting of cotton and other crops quickly. In addition to that, it is necessary to organize the cleaning of the fields from the remaining cotton, ploughing of land in autumn and to organize the application of fertilizers and land washing. It follows to implement agrotechnical, reclamation and organizational measures in every rayon and every farm that are aimed at achieving abundant harvests of agricultural crops in 1984.

It is necessary to take care of anything so that the plans and socialist pledges for selling all kinds of agricultural products to the state can be fulfilled. It is also necessary to conduct cattle winterization at a highly organized and high standard.

The workers of Turkmenistan like all the Soviet peoples unanimously adopt and support the declaration of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe. The workers, kolkhozers and the intelligentsia will respond to the intrigues of imperialists through shock work, strengthening of discipline and through gathering all forces for further bolstering the economic and defense might of the homeland.

The workers of Soviet Turkmenistan are closely rallying around the mother communist party and will do everything for verifying the decisions of 26th CPSU Congress, the May and November 1982 and June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the instructions of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and will commemorate the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Turkmen SSR and the Turkmenistan Communist Party with further labor achievements.

CSO: 1830/183

## REGIONAL

### GAPUROV ADDRESSES ASHKHABAD BORDER DEFENSE CONFERENCE

GF191822 Ashkhabad TURMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 7 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The progress and measures for further implementing the work of the party organizations for improving high combat morale of the border guards in light of the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress and the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum were discussed by the delegates of the 11th okrug party conference of the Central Asian Red Banner Frontiers Okrug, which was held in Ashkhabad on 6 December.

It was noted in the report by Major General V. F. Zanolodhchenko, chairman of the Political Department of the Central Asian Red Banner Frontiers Okrug, and in the speeches of communists, that, guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committees and the proposals and conclusions contained in the speeches and statements of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which provide a deep and versatile evaluation of the exceptionally critical and tense international situation caused by the aggressive policy of the rightist circles of the United States and its allies, the party organizations of the okrug's troops are working to improve the high combat morale of the personnel. This is for the purpose of further strengthening border defense, for increasing combat preparedness of the units and sub-units, and for strengthening military discipline, order and organization.

It was noted at the conference that in the current period the party organizations have emerged as the main political body of the military collectives. It was also noted that the party groups were strengthened and this positively affected the practical activity.

However, it was also noted that the level of the organized work of a number of party organizations involved in the improvement of combat morale does not fully meet contemporary demands.

The resolutions point out concrete measures for further increasing the effectiveness of the organized party political work for developing high combat qualities, ideological conviction, devotion to the CPSU and to the socialist homeland, and loyalty to the duties of communists and all personnel.

The conference also discussed a report by the party commission on the political department of the okrug's troops presented by Colonel N.P. Filatov, M.G. Gapurov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee; and Major General V.S. Ivanov, chairman of the Political Directorate of the USSR KGB Frontiers Troops addressed the conference.

Participating in the conference were P. Annaorazov; A.S. Boyko; and A.I. Rachkov, members of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; S.A. Niazov, candidate member of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; and Lieutenant General N.A. Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Turkestan Red Banner Military Okrug.

CSO: 1830/182

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN CP CC DISCUSSES WORK OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

LD201958 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] The results of report and election meetings of primary party organizations and rayon and urban conferences were today discussed by a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia. In the report and speeches by Comrade Demirchyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, and other speakers, it was noted that participants in the meetings and conferences had analyzed in a business-like manner the work of party committees, administrative bodies, and economic organizations. Shortcomings which still exist in industry, capital construction, and commerce and consumer services were exposed.

The remarks and proposals made by communists reflect their profound interest in the further economic and social development of the republic.

Those participating in the plenum pointed to the need for a further improvement in the style and methods of organizational and political work of the leadership of primary party organizations. The plenum approved in the main the draft state plan for the economic and social development of the Armenian SSR and the 1984 state budget of the republic.

CSO: 1830/170

## REGIONAL

### CHINGIZ AYTMATOV ON ROLE OF BILINGUALISM

Moscow VOPROSY LITERATURY in Russian No 9, Sep 83 pp 3-27

[Discussion by Chingiz Aytmatov and Faiz Akhmad Faiz: "The High Duty of the Writer," recorded by M. Salganik]

[Text] Twenty-five years ago, the First Conference of Writers of Asia and Africa was held in Tashkent in October 1958. Delegates from 37 countries of the East and guests and observers from 13 states of Europe and America took part in this imposing forum.

In that quarter of a century, the Association of Writers of Asia and Africa traveled a difficult route of struggle and victory.

The Pakistani poet Faiz Akhmad Faiz and the Soviet prose writer have the right to consider the association's jubilee as their own personal date--both have taken an active part in its activity throughout the entire duration of the association's existence. For both, strengthening of the unity of Afro-Asian writers in the struggle for elimination of the consequences of colonialism and the establishment of mutual relations of equality and friendliness among peoples are a part of their biography.

At the present time, Faiz Akhmad Faiz, winner of the International Lenin Prize "For Strengthening of Peace Among Peoples" is chief editor of the quarterly LOTOS, the organ of the Association of Writers of the Countries of Asia and Africa.

On the eve of the jubilee conference in Tashkent, Faiz Akhmad Faiz and Chingiz Aytmatov met to talk "about the times and about themselves."

[Chingiz Aytmatov] It turns out that a quarter of a century has elapsed since the time when writers of Asia and Africa convened for the first time in Tashkent. I remember that at the time this was a very big event for us. Our literary movement has now been in existence and operation for 25 years.

Afro-Asian writers have united in order to seek together for ways of equalizing disproportions in the development of peoples arising as the direct consequence of the epoch of colonial hegemony. Now it is possible to understand with special clarity the fact that the conference held in Tashkent in 1958 was a truly historical event because the inevitability of changes in mutual relations among the peoples of the earth was already on the agenda. A quarter of a century, of course, is a big time period in a man's life, and I and you, dear Faiz, know each other for almost as many years. I consider such long friendly contacts of people as a gift of fate. Over the course of these years, we have often met, talked a great deal, sometimes even argued, but still a similarity of views existed in regard to our life and the problems of our vocation. But there is still a magic of numbers, and the number 25 obliges us to examine with heightened intensity what was lived through and what was experienced, to look back at what was passed through and to think where and how we should be going. Life does not depend on any magic, it continues on its way and continues to put before us ever new problems so that summing up of results always leads to compilation of plans for the future. Faiz, you are one of the founders of the movement of writers of Asia and Africa, so, perhaps, we should start our talk by trying to comprehend from where we began and where we are at the present time?

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] Good, let us try. Thinking of how to live further always makes it necessary to evaluate dispassionately that which existed earlier. You will agree that this quarter of a century was very densely packed with major events in the world, events that were extremely big, changing both the world and all of us in it. Our movement, as you have just said, was formed, of course, as the result of the collapse of the colonial empires, at a time when imperialism, losing no time, began to operate, as is said, from the flank --from positions of neocolonialism: while formally leaving, imperialism left its roots in the localities and created spheres of economic and cultural suppression. This brought on an answering reaction--the rallying of progressive forces on a new level. Of the whole aggregate of factors bringing into being a union of writers of former colonies, the most important one for me personally would seem to be the forming of a new consciousness, a consciousness of people who have gained the right to life independently after long suppression of their freedom. It is this consciousness, common to all of us, of those who broke out of this yoke together with the need of immediately undertaking the solution of a number of similar problems left by imperialism which caused the writers of Asia and Africa to unite their efforts. The mutual character of the problems created by the intrusion of a foreign culture into national cultures provides grounds to examine the diversity of the literatures of Asia and Africa as a kind of unity. A quarter of a century ago, Afro-Asian writers were obliged to evaluate the state of their original cultures--moreover, in the context of contemporaneity--and to understand the role and place of languages and cultures of the former colonizers in the cultural development of Asia and Africa as well as to determine their relation to the hybrid cultures--a result of the collision of East and West.... The listing of problems could be continued, but that is not the point, for we were discussing the need of the quickest possible decolonization, one of the most important and most difficult aspects of decolonization in general. Union of efforts and exchange of experience is a dictate of the times.



[Chingiz Aytmatov] I would like to add to this that at this time mankind is approaching the historical realization of the need of expanding contacts, including contacts first and foremost in the field of culture. There has begun the laying of a foundation for contacts of a new type, not spontaneous but organized. Moreover, the peoples of the liberated countries experienced a much greater need for them--they had to break down the wall of centuries of colonial isolation. Comparable processes were occurring throughout the entire world particularly since new technical means have appeared for the attainment of new ties: the all-penetrating mass information media, means of transport, an entire infrastructure intended for people and peoples making contacts with each other. And the main thing is that an understanding has come into existence of the fact that the history of mankind's development has entered a stage where it is no longer possible for people to exist in isolation from each other. Without referring to the historical past, various societies within the framework of our own memory were able to live with practically no contact with each other or while maintaining selective contacts. But it seems to me today that the multilateral independence of peoples of the earth has become a determining factor of the epoch. Now truly no one is an island....

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] This means that the Afro-Asian association of writers by its very existence answers to the spirit of the times. You know that in the very ancient past, well-established trade ties existed between the various geographic regions of Asia and Africa, and boats and caravans, carrying goods, also carry cultural values.

Some of the trade routes were quite extended, for example, the great silk route, stretching from China to Central Asia, the route uniting India with Egypt, the Sudan gold route and so on. At this time, it would be useless to conjecture what world culture would have been like if traditional ties in Asia and Africa, as well as the natural ties of the East with the West had not been forcibly broken. But, as we know, history constitutes a realized probability. In the place of ramified cultural ties and reciprocal influences, only one contact remain: mother country--colony. Victors--vanquished. This resulted in delayed growth of the traditional cultures of the vanquished peoples, each of whom stopped at that level of development at which invaders found it. And this led to the appearance of a hybrid culture, which, as a rule, did not extend beyond the limits of the elite, who had obtained their education in the Western mode and alienated themselves from their own national roots and frequently from their own native language. The writer found himself in a double ring of alienation--from himself, inasmuch as no biological miracle could transform him into a European, and from his own people, who continued to hold on to their traditional culture.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] And thus a type of marginal individual was created, a person in between....

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] Yes, of course. And if there be added to this significant alienation from world artistic thought--the writer could only come in contact with it solely through his colonizers, it then becomes clear how important it was for the literatures of Asia and Africa to provide contacts for themselves. They were not established easily or simply, which is not surprising--much was

done for the first time. The transition from fiery manifestos and primitive didactics to a literature involving deep study of life was not easy or simple. I believe that today it is already possible to put the best works of the writers of Asia and Africa in the same row with the contemporary classics of world literature. Had we lacked the possibilities of comparing ourselves with each other and utilizing models created before us, it probably would have required centuries to do what we accomplished in decades.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] The whole point is, regardless of how banal it might be to repeat it, that the peoples, while still retaining their differences, have been drawing closer to each other to such an extent that all of us are surrounded at every step by a multitude of reciprocal influences. And this is one of the most characteristic features of our time and our existence in it. Moreover, this is a factor of long-term operation, the further course and consequences of which we are hardly in a position to see at the present time. The concern of futurologists may be to devise models of a planetary or possibly of a galactic culture, but the need to perceive processes taking place today stems from your and mine everyday practice, from our living and existence. For me personally, they are extremely, I would say, vitally important. I myself am a person who is at a meeting point of cultures and in answering for myself the question as to what is cultural originality, I also answer the question as to who I am. I belong to an Asian people, small in number, of whom there is a majority in the world. By grace of fate, I live simultaneously in two lingual spheres--I think, speak and write in two languages: in my native Kirghiz and in Russian. The Russian language is a language of a very great literary tradition occupying a historically warranted and deservedly leading place in the community of the Soviet people. It is a sort of lingua franca, a language of intercourse for our entire country. And in this connection, it is extremely and vitally important for us, as I have already said, to what extent the process of coexistence, interaction and correlation of the national languages and the lingua franca in each region proceeds commensurably, harmoniously and, what is more, impartially. This constitutes the essence of our linguistic policy: while familiarizing ourselves in every way possible with world culture and science with the aid of the Russian language, to develop and foster in every way possible national languages, providing them with prospects of effective resources under present-day conditions. Our experience attests to the fact that such aims are quite attainable, for each language possesses large developmental resources if they are cultivated in practice. In my memory, the Kirghiz language has gone through a number of phases of cultural development and it can be considered today in the context of its potential prospects on the asset side of world culture. In other words, the many difficulties with which the intelligentsia of the developing countries is now encountering we are quite familiar with. But with an extremely significant difference: we took the path of socialism. And were the very first to take it in the world.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] The October revolution marked the beginning of revolution in the consciousness of all colonial and dependent peoples. Consequently, we read Soviet literature in a quite special way: aside from everything else, it is for us a mirror of the soul of a man of the new world. You know how great the prestige of Soviet literature is in the world and what an influence

it exerts in particular on Asia and Africa. Our countries acquired a real access to Soviet literature only after we became free. With the achievement of independence, we entered an epoch of reciprocal influences and our solidarity against the cultural aggression of neocolonialism, the struggle against which became a powerful stimulus for unification of the writers of Asia and Africa. The protection and development of national originality of the peoples of the liberated countries from the intrusion of an alien culture have become for us without exaggeration the question: to be or not to be?

[Chingiz Aytmatov] Agostinho Neto was quite right in saying: we are our cultures. The opposition of the original cultures of Asia and Africa to Western culture--I use here this term in the broad sense of the word--began with the epoch of colonial incursion, but it could by no means end with gaining of independence. Western culture failed to penetrate the bulk of the popular masses: both by reason of absence at the time of technical means for its general dissemination and possibly because the colonizers were not very--or possibly not at all--interested in introducing to it the peoples of the colonies. Why? It was enough for missionaries to slightly turn the natives to Christianity, for administrators to train auxiliary personnel from among the local gentry and collaborationist milieu, ready as always in history for any concessions of national interests for the sake of their immediate benefit and ready for its sake to be the assistants of the ruling forces. The present neocolonizers are something else: they have in their hands powerful, universally penetrating means of everyday mass influence which are deliberately used for the manipulation of peoples' consciousness and for the establishment of a Western system of values. Under these conditions, the problem of protection of cultural originality, without making a fetish of it, however, has become complex, continuing to remain an important aspect of the struggle of Asia and Africa for complete and genuine spiritual sovereignty; it acquires in a somewhat different interpretation, I want to point out, a character common to all mankind. Let us see: in addition, the fact is that the gross disproportion in the development of different portions of mankind has in no way been eliminated. On the whole the more the contemporary level of its technical development advances, the more often does it require planetary actions for the solution of large-scale problems; the more mass industrial production progresses, the more housing, clothing and life style are standardized. The mass information media offer to millions of people the same average stock programs. Life proceeds in such a way that the significance of the cultural factor in it grows immeasurably in comparison with past epochs, for cultural originality makes it possible for man to avoid standardization and stereotyped thinking introduced quite undisguisedly by the mass information media. It is hardly necessary to point out differences in approach to the mass information media displayed by different political systems, all the more so, since the mass information media have their own laws of influence inherent in them. The problem of preservation and development of the cultural diversity of the human race in counterbalance to deliberate manipulation of consciousness and to the objective requirements of mass industrial production goes way beyond the limits of just culture. You and I are speaking more of most essential problems, of what we live by, and this is natural. But immediate requirements must nevertheless be subordinated to a higher end aim, otherwise all this is futile nonsense. Hence I think that diversity of manifestations of the spirit, with availability of

means of acquainting oneself with them, should bolster in man an inner independence of stereotypes and prejudices and help develop the ability of independent thinking. I do not know if I am right, but it seems to me that books can do this best.

Whether we writers like it or not, today books are in the same class as the other information media, where first place in terms of relative importance belongs to the audiovisual media. It is more difficult to become a reader than a viewer not only because a reader must as a minimum be able to read, but also because reading--of any kind--requires active effort. In distinction to motion pictures, or even video cassettes, books always provide the reader with the possibility of going back, of sensing and grasping the underlying idea and, finally, of setting for oneself the rate of reading and absorbing, of arguing with the author. Reading is always a dialogue, a silent inner dialogue while by oneself. I believe that this special feature of books gives me the right to consider them as a most perfect instrument of learning, a most all-embracing means of artistic culture.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] You see, I myself am by nature first of all a reader. In addition I also write. What could be better than a book? Now literature is the flesh of language. You, Chingiz, have already spoken of the problems of national languages. And this stays in my head. Inhabitants of multilingual countries, such, say, as yours and mine, must, before teaching children to read, decide--in what language? It is customary to cite the Soviet Union as an example of a country that has solved the language problem better than others. And despite the fact that many countries, especially the Afro-Asian, study your experience, striving to at least partially use it among themselves, it, of course, can only produce fruit in a socialist state. A solution must be found again without delay, since the elimination of illiteracy cannot be postponed. The multilingualism of such a country as India, for example, developed over thousands of years, but in India there is the problem of English language and literature written in it. Or take the African countries, the colonizers cut up the map of Africa without at all taking into consideration the natural ethnic division of the continent. Many African languages were blocked in their development without being able to go beyond a certain level. As a result the language of the colonizers almost automatically assumed the place of the language of culture for a whole series of African countries, strictly speaking in all the countries where not a single language had developed in sufficient measure to meet the requirements of contemporaneity. A definite question arises: what language will become the means of interstate intercourse? The language of the colonizers? One of the local languages whose selection would inevitably result in an explosion of nationalist emotions? It is difficult to deal with one's native language without emotion--after all, it is one's own! Two points of view exist in this regard: the language of former colonizers is alien to us in spirit; it is the language of enslavement and, without rejecting it, we would not achieve the development of national languages, thereby undermining our originality. Another point of view: we adopt the language left us by fate and try to modify it so that it is in accord with the specific features of our national character and culture. This language will enter into a reaction of synthesis with our languages, and this child of a mixed language will begain a separate existence from its parents. You understand that I am describing in simplified form both the first and the second point of view, but such is their gist.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] This concerns me very much, as you can see. I want to point out that the language problem throughout the entire world is one of the main problems of cultural policy, and at the present time it has attained simply unprecedented acuity. Here are you are dealing with entrance into the orbit of dealings of the people of Asia and Africa and with the head-splitting complexity of their problems, and with the same ubiquitous mass information media, and with intensification of the phenomenon of nationalism--one can't enumerate them all. How mankind will maintain contacts in the remote future will depend on a great number of demographic, social-economic and scientific-technical factors. At this time, I believe, exceptional tact and circumspection are needed in everything pertaining to the language question. The social and historical maturity of society is manifested nowhere more clearly than in relation to language or languages. I am repeating myself somewhat, but I want to emphasize this once more. I personally believe that under the conditions of the 20th century the means of preserving and developing national languages and at the same time avoiding provincial seclusion and stifling isolation--this is a dialectically dual process--is bilingualism, a norm and necessity for the whole nation. In this sense, our Soviet experience undoubtedly deserves the most close consideration, study and possibly adoption. I by no means mean this because we have already succeeded in resolving all difficulties and dotting all the "i's." This I do not want to say, furthermore it is not that way. The problems along this route, the route of spread of bilingualism are more than enough; there are more than enough difficulties, but I believe that this is the correct route. And I do not see any other way. What bilingualism means according to my understanding--I shall try once more to make a precise rendering--is the existence of a lingua franca, a free language belonging to everybody, such as at one time Greek and Latin were for Europe. And along with this language of intercourse, there proceeds in parallel the independent and full-blooded life of the "mother" tongues, this is what the Turkic peoples call their languages within the limits of the natural area of their prevalence. Linguistic policy should be flexible; it develops with account being taken of the dialectics of development of social structures as a whole. The extreme points of view described by you simply do not have the right to exist: neither linguistic isolationism, nor attempts of cultivation of linguistic hybrids in test tubes. It is simply impossible! The living element of the language lives by its own laws! And bilingualism is also a complex process, which cannot be reduced to talks of simply a "second native language." What is native can't help but be primarily valued as one's own. Simplification of the essence of linguistic problems is simply a way of evading their serious resolution.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] But it is possible to study two--or even three--languages. It is difficult, it requires outlays, efforts, time, but eventually it is possible!

[Chingiz Aytmatov] That's the crux of the matter! And it is possible to eliminate unnecessary emotions if one considers the second language as a tool, as an instrument of dealing with people, moreover, an instrument of many uses which exists for anyone who is able to make use of it. For me, bilingualism appears to be a historical necessity, one of the developments of 20th-century civilization. The attempt to go along the road of least resistance, to furl

the banners of national languages for the sake of momentary gain will always bring one to a dead end. One will reach a dead end even more quickly through jingoistic passions and demands for sterile purity of language! But every language is a great achievement of a people. For this reason every language should be provided with an opportunity to develop.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] In this, I am unreservedly in agreement with you. I would like to add, Chingiz, just one thing--linguistic policy must be developed on the basis of actually existing factors and with obligatory consideration of that to which you and I constantly return in this conversation: the world has changed, and not a single people can live in it in isolation from the rest. This means that linguistic policy must be directed at the acquisition of new, broader possibilities of contact. Accordingly anything else would run counter to the dictates of the time. A tremendous, invaluable role can be played here by the mass information media while contributing to the national integration of multilingual countries and actively including us in world cultural processes. Incidentally, with an intelligent approach, no contradictions should exist between the audiovisual media and books--in principle, they are not in opposition but supplement each other.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] Without a doubt. With an intelligent and sober approach. You see what happens, dear Faiz, regardless of what we might speak, it all brings us to the problem of planetary-scale changes and an acute need for the intelligent comprehension of them. The individual must all the same be subordinated to the general. And, of course, the radical difference of the present epoch from all the preceding ones is the awesome but indisputable fact: today mankind is capable of destroying itself.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] And today the solution of any problem must be subordinated to the chief consideration--not to allow the destruction of mankind, remembering all the time that all of us must learn how to live together, that no matter how different our political, ideological and religious positions might be, these problems cannot be solved today by the use of force. The force that we have at our disposal is stronger than us.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] I am glad that you and I agree in our thinking, that with all the diversity of your and my life experience, you and I respond similarly to the same signals. You will possibly also agree with me in this: I believe that after the world had lived through World War II, there was a period when mankind came to and tried to understand the monstrous character of the world wars of the 20th century, which shook the very foundations of European culture and European rationalist thought. Subsequently changes occurred in the life of mankind that brought the world community to a new state, which previously had never happened. Mankind torn apart by contradictions, differently colored, living with different conceptions of itself, divided into classes, political systems and groups, existing simultaneously in different time strata--now this mankind is experiencing a common danger. On any day, general nuclear slaughter can break out, and there could take place that which, no matter how we might think, the mind still would not be able to grasp--the destruction of all life on earth. This means that together with us there will be destroyed everything that had existed before us and that the future will remain unborn. Consequently,

as you have said, no problem is more urgent today than to find a way to subordinate the objectively existing antagonistic contradictions of our aim--preservation of the human race and the potential for its development. Thus possibly today artistic thought, turning to the unprecedented shock to souls and minds brought on by the feeling of imposed danger, responsibility for this disaster, understanding of the impossibility of being quickly freed from it --thus possibly artistic thought immersed in this condition will take away from it great insight?

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] All this is true, but there is one thing which simply gives me no peace. You are much younger than I, but I well remember the '30s when fascism raised its head for the first time and the progressive portion of mankind understood what a threat to the world it brought. I now have in mind not only the antifascist front but also the general emotional atmosphere of those years, the need for every rational person to act and to fight against the foul plague. It was not a matter of organization but this sense of personal involvement in a common struggle against evil. I remember particularly well the events in Spain which we intensely followed and I remember what personal pain I felt in the defeat of the republicans. I lived in Lahore, someone else lived in New York and still someone else in Moscow. We were unable to maintain contact, but each did what he could, and there arose a feeling of belonging to a brotherhood of like-minded persons, impassioned like-minded persons, I would say. The threat now hanging over us exceeds manifold the threat of fascism--it cannot even be compared! And I still ask myself: but would we be able to infuse such passion into the struggle against collective suicide, to create the same kind of an emotional atmosphere of fierce resistance against antihumane plans? And I bitterly answer myself: no. Or--so far no. I am not speaking of the ineradicable philistine comment "but what can I do?" and not even of an intellectual comprehension of the scale of the threat --we all understand with the mind, but rather on the emotional, creative plane, would we be able to create artistic values, for example, literary works that are as emotionally effective as the antifascist literature of past years?

[Chingiz Aytmatov] You have asked a tough question, but I do not dispute that grounds for it exist. And I share your doubts and your self-critical attitude. Let us see what we can do with it. Fascism, despite all its appalling loathsomeness, still was within the limits of human understanding of evil. And it was concrete, one could look at it, hate it and say to oneself: I could never reconcile myself to it. But today mankind has crossed a new threshold of knowledge and is manifestly unprepared for this either in a social or in a moral sense. It has acquired in its hands the energy of cosmic power and threatens with it itself--its very self. I have read that should such a catastrophe occur, every living thing would turn into smoke--simply into smoke. And the sky would no longer be blue because nitrogen is burnt up in super-high temperatures--a brown sky would be over an earth destroyed by fire. It is impossible to think with detachment of a probability of this type--the dry information brings on an explosion of the emotions. Perhaps the character of these emotions is such that it yields with difficulty in translation to the graphic form of art. You are right, growth of antiwar manifestations of any kind attests to maturity of intellectual comprehension of the danger, but as for us artists, we truly must find a way in this fearful time to bring to human hearts the impossibility of becoming resigned to the destruction of life itself.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] Our autumn meeting in Tashkent will take place in accordance with the guiding idea: "The Writer and the Contemporary World," and without a doubt the theme of war and peace will occupy the leading place at the conference. Although the problem is on a global scale, people of different cultures, however, differently interpret its meaning for themselves. An artist, living in one of the countries of Asia or Africa, resolves for himself the same problem that you and I are now discussing--what he can and must do for prevention of the catastrophe--but he in this connection comes into contact with a different level of consciousness in his audience.

Resolving for himself that same problem--how to inflame the hearts of people and to make them understand that the threat is hanging over each one of us--and everyone must do this together--the artist living in a developing country also has to take into account the level of the people's consciousness. The fact is that a certain level of consciousness is required in order to relate everyday burdens to factors of importance to all of mankind. And that is not all--in the East, the technological background required for an understanding of the potential of weapons of mass destruction is lacking. You just said that the crimes of fascism somehow fit into human understanding of evil. The East is capable of grasping even a terrible crime if it is backed by the will of a ferocious enemy, but I believe that nuclear war for the East is something inhuman, faceless and technological. It is impossible to find an analogy for this in any of the customary metaphoric systems.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] This also applies to the more technological West.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] I don't dispute that. But I want to say that in the East the area of free search for methods of emotional expression of our common alarm is more limited. Possibly, it is in general something else. Let us say that in the East the belief has been retained in the myth of the end of the world, of the destruction of the world punished for its sins. It seems to me that this myth--in its various versions--can serve as a model explanation for that which we are calling to fight. The end of the world is punishment for sins, the nuclear threat the result of imperialism's criminal self-interest. The end of the world presumed the end of evil; the thermonuclear reaction goes beyond morality, it destroys equally the good and the evil. Consequently a moral person is bound to fight against the amorality of the forces which are ready to put nuclear armaments into operation. Passivity thus becomes a form of pandering to evil, which is amoral. In other words, the artist has to search for expressive means from the arsenal accessible to him and to transfer the political, social and economic reality of the present situation to the emotional plane. For example, for Asia and Africa, where there is an absence of a technological background for comprehension of the consequences of thermonuclear holocaust, it is necessary to explain that this is the end of the world. Only that is real.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] It would seem that the writers of Asia and Africa will have to determine their missions on the basis not only and not so much of regional problems but first and foremost of the global problem on which the future of mankind depends. It is everyone's concern and, in discussing the development of the cultures of Asia and Africa, we cannot for a minute renounce events



occurring outside the developing countries. We are bound together in the closest manner possible, and we cannot stand up singly against the forces that are leading the world to war. A quarter of a century ago when we, the writers of Asia and Africa, created our organization, when the countries of Asia and Africa assumed one after another the path of sovereign development, their writers and creative intelligentsia as a whole were absorbed in their own affairs--they needed to find without delay effective methods of spiritual decolonization, on the course of which the character of the future of the former colonies depended. We remember that at that time the chief factor of the planet's life was the breakup of the colonial empires and the establishment of a new system of relations among the peoples. In a constantly changing dialectical relationship between the general and the particular, it was natural for the particular to attract the attention of those who were called upon to direct the practical work of cultures. Today this relationship has again changed in favor of the general: the African and Asian peoples have become a most active component of a worldwide historical process; history henceforth will be made by joint efforts, while the splitting of the atom has changed forever the form of existence of people on the planet. Without denying in the slightest, the existence of regional specifics due to history or the geographic position of peoples, I only want to emphasize the supremacy of solidarity in the struggle for preservation of peace and cessation of the insane arms race.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] Yes, of course, solidarity in the struggle will be brought out by the literatures of Asia and Africa from the range of specifically regional problems, including them among general world processes. One must not forget that it is not even war itself, nuclear or conventional, but military preparations and the arms race that bleed white the developing countries, aggravating those problems whose piling up frequently stands in the way of comprehension of the basic global problem: realization that the countries of Asia and Africa are directly involved in the sum total of world problems, that imperialism, whose social imperative is the use of force, is not a race but a class concept.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] Precisely! A most certain way of freeing man from the fear of war would be the extirpation of imperial psychology from any of its manifestations, with its arrogance and with its inherent blunt aggressiveness, excluding the ability to see tendencies for development of mankind as a whole. But today we understand that any confrontation, any simplified attempt to attain aims by forceful means would result in the destruction of the whole world. Consequently all of us and each one in his own way are looking for other, judicious actions. But it is clear to you and me, dear Faiz, that our job is to write. But how, how, how? How to transform into the language of creative work all that we are now talking about and what we are constantly thinking about? How to find convincing words for that which cannot be even taken in by thought?

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] And this gives me no peace. Words can be found--we are being warned by men of science, physicians, psychologists. But warnings, declarations and appeals by themselves are not enough. You know, sometimes it seems to me that we speak to such an extent of the inadmissibility of war that we have an illusory sense that something has already been done.... It cannot

be said that nothing has been done. Man possesses a characteristic feature--to measure everything with his own "I," and art possesses a characteristic feature in regard to which our poet Galib said: "to show in a drop the entire course of the Euphrates."

[Chingiz Aytmatov] But speaking seriously, a writer should turn a great theme into a subject of personal concern to the reader. I want to address myself to one reader, to him as an individual, I want this person to feel that my thoughts, experiences, suffering and hopes are intended specifically for him. I invite him to a spiritual coexperience one on one, one on one with me. And I want to remain one on one with him so as to devote all of myself to this person!

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] You have touched upon a question of unprecedented importance and perhaps in our time it is more important than at any time previously: for whom do we write, for the individual or for the masses? In speaking of my personal creative experience, my poems, of course, are intended for the individual even where they contain a call to many. But what does intended for the individual mean? After all, this person is in a social context. Here, for example, it would appear, is a love lyric, a release of creative energy accumulated through a particularly intimate experience--I know and can cite as an example Simonov's poem "Zhdi menya" [Wait for Me], addressed to a woman, to the one and only. At one time it was a hymn of fidelity for millions. Incidentally, the writer himself is a person in a certain social context. It seems to me that it is all a matter of coincidence of the writer's experience with the experience of readers. Only one should not take this literally--we are writers in order to give form to the feelings and thoughts of millions and to return this to them, but as already independently existing images. And the more personal these images are, the stronger can they act on people. Of course, given the indispensable condition that the writer has the talent and sincerity to imbibe them with life.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] I agree with you. Why do I so insist that I write for one person? Literature, and all history in general, since time immemorial have been intended for the unification of souls, and in the epoch of total standardization, individuality becomes the measure of all things. I have always regarded with caution high sounding declaration: we right for the people, we are read by the masses--not because I ignore on this plane the mass reader, rather the opposite. The caution stems from a special perception of one's work intended for the reader's individuality rather than for readers en masse. I think, I would hope that I write for the individual. This person for whom I am undergoing my experience, for whom I am fighting, with whom I try to be maximally candid and to whom I would like to state my most innermost thoughts and state them in such a way that they touch, enrapture, astound, uplift or throw him into the bottomless pit. And I hope that this person will understand me. If that should happen, it would mean that I have achieved my desired goal. Should such a person be found, I believe that I would be understood as well by others, possibly by many, possibly by the people. But I addressed myself to one person, to a contemporary, a confidant, to one both real and imaginary.... Now you can ask me: well, what if he does not understand me? If he should not understand, it would mean that I was unable to

reach his art, it would that I would have to write more, to think more profoundly, to feel more acutely and not to spare myself. Of course no book in the world would please everyone, but it is necessary for me that mine would be to one's liking and would be necessary for at least one person. In place of him there could be many. If from the very outset, one sets oneself the task of writing for the masses, then from the very beginning the masses would be the consideration, and this would lead to a devaluation of the meaning and purpose of artistic creation.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] The creation of literature for the masses or, if you wish, literature for the people, automatically presupposes the existence of a special literature for the elite. This is how it is in the West--reading matter for all and works for the elect. In addition, these talks give off a certain, you know, cultural snobbism, a condescending and patronizing attitude toward the masses. In bourgeois society, efforts to write for the masses--I have in mind now honest efforts--contain a deadly trap: the writer begins writing not what he thinks but what he thinks would be useful for the masses. Simplified literature, which as a result comes out, obliges the unsophisticated reader to switch to literature openly for the masses--very able written and deliberately tickling the nerves. Incidentally, best sellers have such an origin, although their aim is different: the writer writes not what he thinks but what in his opinion will suit the taste of the masses. This process now has no relation whatsoever to artistic creation. It is a product fabricated with the aid of a collection of professional techniques and subordinated to the laws of market circulation.

There also exists another extreme--I write only for myself. Well, first, this is an untruth: in that case why publish it? And second, I equally do not interest anyone, for each person is most interested in himself. This necessarily means that my despair, joy or happiness are not only mine and that I am at least bigger than I really am. I remember that in 1963 a meeting of writers was held in Leningrad at which I met and talk a great deal with Sartre, and he said at that time: a great theme is required for a great book to appear. A great theme can never be purely personal. It has to be immeasurably bigger than oneself. Then Sartre said that after World War II there remained no great themes in Europe, there were only magnificent writing techniques, your great themes, he said, now are in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America--on continents where techtonic shifts of the epoch are more acute and more marked.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] I assume that Sartre had in mind the struggle between the old and the new and the nakedness and dynamic character of class and social contradictions which occur there. In former colonies, the theme of the confrontation of the old and the new has in addition overtones of the rivalry of the East and West, of its own with the foreign. In effect, this theme contains an emotional charge of great power.

[Faiz Akhmed Faiz] This actually constitutes the basic content of our life and of our contemporary literature: the interweaving of traditional and new institutions of power, economic structures, moral prescriptions, cultural values. At the same time, the new changes and renews itself at an unprecedented rate, and the past, which has to be combined with the ever-growing

requirements of contemporaneity--Asia's and Africa's past itself consists of two components: what is our own and what colonialism left us. The contemporary Asian or African can in no way be called the product of solely his own culture. This means that our further development will depend on whether we are able to find a harmonious proportion between the rather diverse elements of our past and present. I believe that history expects of us writers or, speaking in a broader sense, of the creative intelligentsia more than we are presently given: our aim should be the building of a democratic culture faithful to the national character of the peoples of Asia and Africa, dynamically and actively interacting with other cultures instead of a passive subordination to them. The broad popular masses must without fail be brought into the cultural process, and only this can save them from the fate of passive users of a standardized mass culture.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] It seems to me that these pressing problems also require a strategic approach of general purpose. Only then will the fullness of demands on oneself and on time will be designated. It is a truism that world events appear and disappear while the highest moral values are absolutes for all times and on a historical plane constitute the absolute achievements of human culture. And if we were to discuss the highest moral values for all times and for all generations, this would be very important and necessary. This is the main point of man, and problems of a moral order are just as infinite as the universe. They live with us from day to day, from hour to hour, from generation to generation. The same moral problems existed long before, say in the times of the Egyptian pharaohs and will also face man after us.

At the same time, art will have to always develop in opposition to conservatism of thinking. Conservatism is to be found in all epochs. For each time it simply belongs to it. It may very well happen in a number of cases--and this applies first and foremost to us Afro-Asians--that conservatism of thinking flourishes under the protection of the banner of originality. How to break through this cordon which finds justification for itself? Art is under the obligation to help find new freedom for the development of the human spirit.

But let us return to our time. Of course, one of the most evident factors of mankind's contemporary life is the presence of mass culture, which through the mass information media influences the state of national cultures. It goes without saying, and I repeat this, the whole thing is who, how and for what purposes utilizes the mass information media.

Of late, it has become good form to unreservedly curse the mass information media, confusing as the same thing mass culture and the channels through which it is conveyed. The mixup is aggravated even more by the fact that the mass information media are capable of putting out works of genuine art and sometimes it seems to us that this endless repetition lowers their value. Is this so? I agree that freshness of perception suffers from repetition, but, on the other hand, is not the difference between cultural centers and the periphery obliterated in this way?

The mass information media have very clearly revealed the absurdity of the term "small peoples" in a cultural sense. Peoples may be divided into small and

large in terms of size--but that is all. Relatively recently "small" peoples geographically remote from centers of culture could not even think of letting the world know of their cultures. But today, in processes of reciprocal influences and mutual enrichment, factors of size or geographic location of peoples have lost their meaning, and should it be necessary to give an example, it would be enough for me to provide one name, that of Gabriel Garcia Marquez. In order for reading humanity to recognize this name, centuries are no longer needed. And is it not the mass information media which force us each day to convince ourselves of the diversity of mankind, acquainting us with cultures, way of life and models of behavior different from our own?

What in the final analysis is mass culture? I believe you will agree that at all times something catering to undemanding taste has been found existing everywhere side by side with high art. The difference consequently is that formerly no means existed for the presentation of this material to the homes of millions of people, and no flow lines existed on which such material could be mass produced. Today they do exist. Evidently this is the reason: higher art proposes high stereotypes for imitation, while mass art foists vulgar stereotypes. There is also great art--it frees man from all stereotypes, demanding that he be himself. Exupery once said: to live means to be born slowly. It would be too simple to acquire at the outset a ready-made soul.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] Brilliantly stated!

[Chingiz Aytmatov] I like it too. Does not the problem lie in the fact that mass cultura disseminates ready-made souls? And conveyor-produced at that!

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] And suggest to an undeveloped, say, young mind, that all this is real, genuine, producing thereby a barrier on the way to independent, unprejudiced cognition of the world and himself in it? Is that what you wished to say?

[Chingiz Aytmatov] Just about. In other words, perhaps. Today two kinds of consciousnesses meet face to face: the individual consciousness of a person brought up under the rules of personally realized morality, capable of making a choice between what he considers good and what evil. At the other end of the spectrum is the consciousness of a person whose behavior is regulated by traditional notions, assimilated from the community, and frequently by prejudices as well. The capability of making independent decisions is naturally lower in such a person. Understandably, neither the one nor the other consciousness is encountered in pure form: but again it is extremely important in my opinion for a person swamped by a flow of heterogeneous information to be able independently and critically to comprehend it and to systematize and correlate events of general significance with his own life.

The task of mass culture is: the creation of a marginal person, cut off from national roots, living in the illusion of his association with contemporary civilization of the highest type and submitting without protest to any manipulations carried out on him.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] It is not for nothing that mass culture evokes concern among thinking people throughout the whole world, that here you and I differ somewhat in perception--I am inclined to think that the intelligentsia of the countries of Asia and Africa has the most reason to fear for its cultural originality. All the same it will be necessary to begin with the mass information media themselves--I recently read that 80 percent of everything that goes through their channels emanates from the world's industrially developed countries. The lion's share of the mass information media is in the hands of monopolies, which means that monopolies determine what views, norms and values will be propagandized. The social system predetermines everything here: is it an accident that the industry of culture has arisen in the depths of capitalism and operates according to all the laws of capitalist production? But this is to the detriment of all cultures in general, and I would like to dwell on our, on the Afro-Asian specific nature of the problem. The actual method of operation of mass information media in a certain sense approximates Afro-Asian traditional methods of disseminating information. Among the peoples of aural culture, information was traditionally provided not by a book but by the living word of a singer, storyteller or poet. And here is something else that is important: no difference existed between mass popular culture and culture in general; no division existed of culture into elite or popular.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] Everybody listened to the same account as now everybody looks at one and the same programs?

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] Yes, but the traditional media, if one can call them that, belonged to all of society or the community, while the modern ones and all this complex and expensive equipment necessarily belongs to a monopoly: state, national or transnational.

In former times when people gathered together to listen to a storyteller or a wandering singer they knew whom they were listening to, the gathering took place in traditional cultural forms which adapted the new by absorbing it, and the listeners were not passive receivers of information but participants in a dialectical process of communication. Today, Asia and Africa, because they have not overcome technical backwardness, use products of the cultural industry, which by their very nature are depersonalized and creatively impoverished.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] But wait a moment, for parallel with it there exists the very rich folklore of the peoples of Asia and Africa, which the tradition of aural culture makes especially viable, dynamic, mobile. Is that not so?

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] Yes, and I want to speak of this--the cultural industry is perpetually running out of material, it works through it rapidly. For this reason, the most striking examples of popular creativity of Asia and Africa are recorded and appropriated, and subsequently the mass information media return it to them--in exoticised and vulgarized form.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] I can continue for you: The concepts of what is national, one's own and brought in from without are mixed together. In addition, resistance to alien influences is weakened.

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] It is weakened, but it does not disappear. We definitely have the right to say that in our time there has come into existence a kind of supranational--one would like to say: an audiovisual--culture, but this depersonalized and artistically bankrupt culture evokes a strong reaction, a strong desire for originality, national, ethnic, even narrowly local. Aside from this, the supranational culture is capable of effectively influencing the people only when given the condition that the system of views embodied in it does not come into direct conflict with the national system of values.

A view of the world cannot solidly take root in society if that view is not connected at all to the experience acquired by society--that is, with its culture.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] An important, in my opinion, conclusion suggests itself. Let us, you and I, define the cultural originality of a people as experience they have acquired and generalized into a system of artistic values answering to the special features of this people's national character, which in turn developed under the influence of geographic, historical and sociopolitical factors. You and I agree that mankind's culture is a mosaic picture composed of the cultures of all peoples with the sole difference that the mosaic of world culture has not congealed but lives. Consequently, the disappearance of any culture is to the detriment of the wealth of colors of the whole picture. And not only that: man is capable of absorbing the beauty and diversity of the picture, gradually--and consciously--adding ever new nuances to the original cultural background, whose inheritor he becomes literally from the moment of birth. This is a necessary condition so that man in time can spiritually mature to planetary awareness and cross over the antagonistic opposition of "one's own" and "alien." Inasmuch as the forming of a planetary consciousness and an abiding feeling of our interrelatedness and our belonging to the same human race is an important condition for the eradication of the very possibility of destructive wars in the future while carefully dealing with original cultures today, we are laying the foundations of harmony for tomorrow which all of us so dream of and strive for!

[Faiz Akhmad Faiz] And even if our possibilities are modest, even if they are smaller than we would like them to be, but still one hopes that one lives and works not for nought. I believe that the progressive forces of mankind will succeed in preventing the threatening disaster, that the achievements of man's thought and spirit will be directed to the search for happiness and discovery of the potential of everyone living on earth.

[Chingiz Aytmatov] I ask myself: why do we consider it possible, why have we assumed the obligation of discussing the big and difficult problems of the world and to speak of them in the name of writers using the word and hoping to exert an influence on minds and souls? It is customary to think that it is not fitting for an artist to refer to the existence of a special gift or calling, but once this gift has been released by destiny and once public importance is attached to it, then it is no longer simply a gift but a duty. And his destiny is to affirm the great festive diversity of life, all that to which the human soul has aspired from time immemorial. Time and again it has happened that aspiration for the marvelous, the lofty and the pure has been

transformed into its opposite and that the writer has also been guilty of this. But there still is something apostolic in what we understand as a writer's duty, and we must with all our strength work to correspond to our calling. The further we penetrate the cosmos, the more determinedly do we look for our place and purpose on earth. Man is weak, short of life and vain, but in understanding oneself, it is impossible to consider anything more grand than this subject. Understanding himself, man strains to speak of this, to see himself from within and from without. This story is as endless as the universe is endless. And we, to whom the Word has been entrusted, do not dare to forget that our duty is to be "hostages to eternity while imprisoned in time."

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## REGIONAL

### 'COMMERCIALISM' OF PRIVATE PLOTS ON UKRAINIAN KOLKHOZ DISCUSSED

Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 12 Oct 83 pp 1-2

[Article, published under the heading "The Food Program: Social Countenance of the Village," by RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA special correspondent D. Dons'koy, Kobelyakskiy Rayon, Poltava Oblast: "Aquiline Contrasts"]

[Excerpts] Encounters, Recollections, Impressions....

Poltava Oblast. I am traveling on a visit back home. Kobelyaki is behind me. The road continues southward. An arched sign over the road announces: "Village of Orlik. Mayak Komunizmu Kolkhoz." I learn that the kolkhoz central farmstead and Combined Brigade No 1 are situated in this village. The village of Radyans'ke, located 14 kilometers from here, is also under the Orlik village soviet. Combined Brigade No 2 is located in Radyans'ke. Formerly there were two Orliks here -- Old and New. But these villages are no longer: when the Dneprodzerzhinsk Reservoir began to fill, they were relocated further into the steppe, on the shore of the reservoir. Out of old habit the people call them Orlik, and call themselves Orlyany.

I had spent my youth here; I had experienced that far-off past when everything was being transformed in the Ukrainian villages. Nervousness struck me as I headed home. The last time I had been here was when people were moving to the new location. That was 20 years ago. Everything was now strange and unfamiliar.

This area, situated between the Orel and Vorskla rivers, is not always favored with good weather. This year rains have been a rare visitor. Nevertheless farmers produced 31.1 quintals of wheat per hectare on an acreage of 1,120 hectares, as well as good barley and pea crops. The target for sale of milk to the state for the first seven months of the year was met by 121 percent.

But I shall not go into detail about production. This did not figure in my plans, particularly since things are going pretty well. In Kobelyaki the rayon party secretary, V. D. Radchenko, stated that Mayak, headed by A. F. Kalyvushka, was one of the best in the rayon. What was of interest to me was the daily life of the people of Orlik, their interests, and I wanted to see the social changes which had been dictated by production successes.

## Cucumber Stew

As I was departing for my return to Kiev, old acquaintances asked me what I did not like about the life of the people of Orlik. Not pondering the matter long, I stated: What struck me the most was an incident involving cucumbers.

It has happened in the Ukraine that in certain localities the population specializes in some one kind of vegetable. In the area under the jurisdiction of the Orlik village soviet cucumbers were being grown in plots extending from field boundary to field boundary. The cucumber crop did well this summer. The crop is being conveyed to delivery stations of the rayon consumer cooperative procurement office. I visited delivery stations. What I saw was disturbing. A great number of sacks were sweltering in the sun. People were waiting for transportation, but there was none. This continued for several days. Noise, confusion, loud arguments. In the meantime fat sacks were hauled by motorcycle and bicycle. And all this was at the busiest time of the harvest.

One impatient vendor called the rayon party secretary, I. M. Tsarychans'kyy, and asked him to get the "deaf consumer cooperative people" to move. Soon trucks arrived. But the next week the same confused scene was repeated. I also took the phone and called up the deputy manager of the procurement office, M. P. Levchenko. And what he told me was highly disturbing.

"The transportation here is not the point," he stated. "The problem is that the Orlik people have foisted the Altai variety on us. This is a very poor salad-grade cucumber. It has a poor appearance, goes bad quickly, and it falls apart when you brine it. It is a financially losing proposition for the buyers."

It seems that this variety has long since been rejected elsewhere. It is not at all recommended for planting in the Ukraine, but the mail-order suppliers of the Ukrsortsemovevoshch Association nevertheless do sell the seed on request. As a result, some people will buy it. And the underlying reason is that this variety, such a favorite with the Orlik people, ripens somewhat earlier than other varieties.

I obtain a copy of the 5 July issue of the Kobelyaki Rayon newspaper KOLOS. On page 1 I read words of praise to the farmers for selling a large quantity of cucumbers to industrial centers. Later I learn that the consumer cooperative people did in fact purchase all "those" sacks -- in order to meet the plan target. They were forced to discard 14 percent of the cucumbers, while putting the rest (they were taking a chance!) into fresh-salting barrels. And they shipped off the fully-stuffed barrels northward -- to Arkhangel'sk, Severodvinsk, and Kotlas. As I was informed over the telephone by Yu. O. Lebedev, deputy chief of Arkhangel'sk Oblplodoovoshchkhov, "instead of the expected crisp fresh-salted cucumbers, we received something like mush. Absolutely unusable!" Subsequently I learned from the above-mentioned M. P. Levchenko that the Orlik "cucumber farmers" have put 1,100,000 rubles into their savings accounts. (For purposes of comparison, last year the local kolkhoz's net profit totaled 286,000 rubles).

A question immediately suggests itself: can this kind of enterprise be considered a normal phenomenon? Just what is a private subsidiary farming operation? We shall begin by stating that it is based on land given over by the state, and therefore it is not a matter of indifference to us how that land is utilized. Subsidiary means not principal, but auxiliary, food for one's own needs, while marketed surpluses provide supplementary income to that earned on the kolkhoz. And if such is the case, why should it be called private? It is a part of the communal operation, for it feeds people, it feeds the country. Thus family-assigned farming plots and "small livestock units" represent considerable assistance in implementing the Food Program. I discussed this subject with V. A. Blokha, chairman of the Orlik village executive committee. He is a local, knows the local people, and the local people know him. As I talked with him I could sense a certain amount of reticence and unsureness. I could see that life here had become difficult for him to deal with.

In point of fact, just who are those people who have taken up a worthless cucumber? Are they after easy money? No. Are they profiteers? No. They do not haul their produce to the kolkhoz market, where they could get more for it (it is true that some people do this, but not many), but deliver it without haggling, to a consumer cooperative at prices established by the union of consumer cooperatives. These are people with work calluses on their hands. For most of them the difficult work on their plot is a continuation of a workday in the kolkhoz fields, in the livestock unit, in the kolkhoz barn. In this instance one can trace a unique duality of the individual and his conscience. On the one hand we have a capable tractor operator, while on the other hand we have a morally unstable individual.

The business of the cucumber stew began several years ago. At first nobody paid any attention to it, and subsequently people got used to it. This "profitable business on the side" at first attracted dozens, and subsequently hundreds of households. Drawn as if by a magnet to the enterprise, these people adopted the principle: "My land -- my business." They also devised their own theory: since the produce had to be marketed at a cooperative price, that is, cheaper, then more acreage must be planted. The result was that cucumbers displaced other vegetables from the plot, and subsequently cows as well. Money and expensive items -- this forms the basis of the bustling activity of a portion of the kolkhoz families, which went beyond the bounds of the reasonable.

The extra personal money income began to drown out the villager's finer sense. I remember a man returned from the snack bar to the procurement station, where he had assumed a place in line. He walked up to his sacks and said: "My dear and most respected cucumbers! If Kobelyaki does not send trucks, what am I going to do with you?"

This gives food for thought. Now let us determine who today helps the kolkhoz household expediently utilize each and every square meter of the bounty-producing soil? In such a manner that it is beneficial both to individuals and the state. RAPO [expansion unknown]? The village soviet? The kolkhoz? Unfortunately I was unable to obtain an exhaustive answer to this relevant question. It is therefore not surprising that the private-use plots, left to the devices of the individuals involved, have paved a slippery road.

Why is it that there are now fewer privately-owned cows and there is occurring no increase in the number of privately-owned pigs? What must be done to make raising livestock advantageous to the individual and to ensure that development of the private-use plots does not become one-sided? Is it possible to organize competition among kolkhoz farmers for growing the finest varieties of vegetables "at home?" Is this not a subject for an open discussion at a village meeting? Meaningful communication between rayon and village leaders on the one hand and the Orlik people on the other would be highly desirable.

Perhaps it would be desirable to elect at a village meeting a "council to promote household production" or to establish on the kolkhoz the position of "private-use plots sector manager." Think about it. They could not only monitor the proper use of land but also guide the development of private-plot farming in conjunction with the communal operation, closely coordinating the large and small economy. There are some important questions which in Orliki for some reason have not been placed on the agenda of party meetings, the kolkhoz board, or sessions of the village soviet.

#### Forecasting the Future

The number of grandchildren in Orliki is becoming increasingly smaller, while the number of grandparents is growing. And this in spite of the fact that there is housing available, food to eat, and clothing to wear. In addition, the family with the greater prosperity has fewer children. There are also young families with no children whatsoever, and yet they have a Zhiguli. Today there are considerably fewer able-bodied kolkhoz farmers than pensioners and children combined. And the majority of persons over the age of 60 are women.

This is the demographic situation today. One can easily predict what the situation will be tomorrow. But life has changed not only statistics. It is gratifying to learn that today's elderly are much healthier, more highly educated, and more active than the elderly in the prewar period, and therefore the manpower shortage is being appreciably lessened. Unfortunately a large percentage of the young people head for the city. I learned from secondary-school principal H. A. Bondarenko that in the 17 years that school has been in existence, more than half of its graduates have left the kolkhoz.

The Orlik upper-graders are not refined gentlemen and ladies -- they have been accustomed to working in the family since childhood. As we see, however, it is not always possible to get them to work in the collective farm operation, to instill in them a love of the land. It would be a good thing if the village school became a genuine production subdivision of the kolkhoz, with agricultural subjects taught by kolkhoz managers and specialists. And adolescents should be given greater responsibility. Put a 16 or 17-year-old behind the wheel of a new tractor or combine without hesitation or vacillation, and he will literally blossom. A great many young boys dream of become a farm machinery operator. But it is important to give harmonious accompaniment to a dream, just as a good song.

In the old days there was a fine tradition in Orliki of organizing lively evening events. Boys and girls would gather here and there at designated locations, would dance and sing in a round, joke, and generally have a good

time. Contact and communication at work, and subsequently after work, unified the young people, brought them closer together, and instilled them with additional vital energy. I recalled that time and cocked an ear in the evenings. Silence. There was no singing to be heard, no concertina being played, and no brass band sounding. The first brigade's clubhouse facility is old and located at the far end of the kolkhoz -- why would anyone go there? The second brigade's clubhouse is not bad, but practically nothing goes on there.

I was interested in checking out the library. The librarian, Praskoviya Taranenko, complains that the kolkhoz managers give her no help whatsoever in acquiring modern furniture, bookcases, and stacks. The library collection totals only 14,000 volumes, which have long since been read and reread. I witnessed the following. Two blond teenagers came running in and headed for the bookshelves. They spent a long time looking for something, but were unable to find it. I ascertained that they wanted to read something about the fate of the American Indians, to learn why their numbers are steadily dwindling. And you should have seen the bitter disappointment with which these boys left the library, boys displaying an exceptional thirst for knowledge.

There are kindergartens in Orliki. Parents pay no fee for them. That is good, but boys and girls who are beyond the crawling around stage need not only milk and porridge. It is necessary in addition to create good conditions for them, things to capture their interest. There is a fenced playground in front of the second brigade's kindergarten. But there is not a single tree! There is no place for the children to take refuge from the baking sun. And yet a beautiful, shady park begins right behind the building. Take that fence, move it to the other side of the building, and the children will be grateful. The facility is in a neglected state, and they are short of needed items. A kindergarten should meet all the demands of the present day.

Officials in Kobelyaki are of the opinion that the Orlik Kolkhoz is one of the rayon's leading farms. Forgive me if I disagree, comrades. To judge merely on the basis of production figures is an old, outmoded and erroneous approach to evaluating the performance of a given farm operation. The Food Program cannot be successfully accomplished without social achievements, without development of culture, without spiritual nourishment. Without this it is difficult to keep young people on the farm. It is necessary to look to tomorrow, to learn how to forecast the future.

I spent several days back home. I learned a great deal. In spite of all the shortcomings mentioned above, a great deal is being done on the kolkhoz to make things better for people. Those who are operating a "little livestock unit" are assigned haymeadow acreage and are allocated various feeds. Those who do not have stock may buy a calf or young boar. Young newlyweds are given a pregnant heifer. Good-quality housing has been built for kolkhoz specialists and teachers. Disabled war veterans are provided good care. All this is true.

There is one more serious shortcoming -- they have ignored the war widows, from whose shoulders it is impossible to remove the bitter woman's loneliness. It was no easier for them than it was for the men at the front. Nor is it any easier for them today. But the kolkhoz officials rarely meet with them. They get together only with one another and grieve. Something should be done about the war widows; they should be helped without waiting to be asked.

There are plenty of problems, and one cannot simply avoid them. Obviously it is no easy matter to solve these problems, but they must be resolved. People are concerned by another serious matter, which cannot be ignored. Combined Brigade No 2, in the village of Radyanske, was formerly the Radyans'ka Ukrayina Kolkhoz. In 1974 it was joined to the Orlik Kolkhoz, where the central farmstead and the village soviet are still located today. But nobody consulted the people, which aroused a certain amount of dissatisfaction on their part.

"This should not have been done," states board chairman A. F. Kalyvushka. "The consolidated farm is difficult to manage and has failed to produce the anticipated economic results."

His view is shared by M. Y. Pasyura, head of the Kobelyakskiy Rayon Agricultural Administration. The consolidated kolkhoz lacks a clear-cut specialization, and the livestock raising operation is essentially running at a loss, which diminishes the profitability of the farm as a whole. The great distance between brigade villages (14 kilometers) makes it impossible to assemble the kolkhoz farmers at general gatherings or a village meeting. Perhaps one should listen to and consider these thoughts?

I saw a great deal in the span of several days. I met a great many people and was delighted at their successes. But I would like only nice things to be said about Orliki.

3024

CSO: 1811/11

## REGIONAL

### SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA VIEWS LAGGING RECONSTRUCTION OF NONCHERNOZEM ZONE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Nov 83 p 1

[Article: "The Nonchernozem Zone"]

[Text] Let us bear in mind that the Nonchernozem Zone comprises 29 oblasts and autonomous republics, inhabited by more than 60 million persons. Though occupying a total of only one-fifth of Russia's territory, it provides one-third of all the agricultural produce and could yield even more. Highly evaluating its potential contribution to the country's food resources, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the decree entitled "On Measures for Further Developing Agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR." During the period from 1976 through 1982 alone capital investments for carrying out the comprehensive program of transformations which had been developed at that time amounted to 46 billion rubles--more than during the previous seven years by a factor of 1.7.

Fixed producer goods increased by 80 percent, and energy capacities by 60 percent, amounting to 38 horsepower per working person now. Housing and socio-cultural construction was conducted at an outstripping rate; 2.7 times more funds were spent on it than during the preceding years. Some 32 million square meters of housing alone were introduced.

As a result, a halt was made in the decline of plant growing. In 1982 the production output of agriculture, as compared to the average yearly level of the 10th Five-Year Plan, increased by 13 percent, during the first two years of the 11th Five-Year Plan all the oblasts and autonomous republics fulfilled their plans for grain procurements, and during the present year, as compared to the corresponding period of last year, the requisitions of milk and meat have increased.

Considerable successes have been achieved. If, however, they are compared with the large-scale material and technical resources which the region has at its disposal and the producer goods which have been created here, it turns out that the yield is less than that which was anticipated. Needless to say, it is no simple matter to overcome the inertia of the lag which has accumulated over the decades; a certain period of quantitative growth is necessary in order that qualitative changes may eventually ensue.

At the same time, along with the objective factors, there are also purely subjective causes of the lack of success. From the very beginning, for example,

it was evident that . . . the strategic thrust of development lay in the comprehensive solution of social problems. It is necessary to finally halt the outflow of the rural population, to return the attractiveness of the Nonchernozem village, and to revive the penchant for rural labor.

Everybody understands this in a way; there is no shortage of speeches and assurances on this score. If we look into the matter more carefully, however, we find the following facts. During the years 1976--1982 there remained unassimilated more than 20 percent of the funds allocated for non-production-type facilities, including 46 percent of the funds earmarked for building clubs and houses of culture. Moreover, there are still villages lacking any place in which motion pictures may be shown. Last year in one out of five farms not a single apartment was put into operation, even though the manpower shortage is great everywhere. In Smolensk, Kalinin, Tula, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, and Ivanovo Oblasts it has reached 24--30 percent. It would seem that in these oblasts construction should be conducted at a forced-draft pace. Matters, however, are frequently just the opposite. Smolensk and Kostroma Oblasts are likewise on the list of those which are building housing slowest of all.

As you can see, despite everything which has been achieved, the party and Soviet organs, as well as the leadership of the agro-industrial associations, have not fully made the turn toward the comprehensive solution of the problems of social reconstruction. Not all of us have learned to think in social categories. This manifests itself with particular clarity in the attitude toward auxiliary industries. Often in the party raykoms one can hear the following:

"We do not have enough milkmaids, the chiefs are milking the cows, and you are proposing to start up a sewing workshop. Where is the logic in that?"

If we are guided by the laws of social algebra rather than those of social arithmetic, one can see in this solution both logic and a direct feasibility. The present-day Nonchernozem village, in most cases, does not present the female graduates of the eight-year or ten-year schools with a sufficient choice of occupations which are attractive for them. And so we must create production facilities to which the girls would go willingly; then they would not move away from the rural areas, and that would be a good thing.

Another general trend of the transformation has been and remains the conversion of agriculture and animal husbandry to intensive paths of development. Quite a bit has been accomplished in this regard, but a radical turning-point has not yet been reached. Suffice it to say that during the past seven years the head of livestock has grown by 8 percent, while the total production of livestock products has increased by only 2 percent. Why is this the case? SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has already written that in many rayons people are pursuing the goal of numerically large herds, without being genuinely concerned about their productivity; as a result, the national economy has borne enormous economic losses. Just remember with what energy a number of oblasts built livestock-raising complexes which were gigantic by local standards. How many cows would be placed there was planned ahead of time, but no thought was given to the question of how to increase the milk yields.



An inability to see the problem in all its reciprocal connections is frequently combined even now with a lack of sober, practical calculation. In their pursuit of large scope in many oblasts, people have ceased being concerned with the smaller-sized farms, forgetting that they provide the principal mass of produce. For this same reason they have unjustifiably curtailed sheep farming. Nor is aid now being seriously rendered everywhere to private, auxiliary farms. These are petty things, they say, there is no scope there. In brief, they omit the "petty things," but lose in a big way; they lose the mass of produce, which, it turns out, cannot be fulfilled by anything.

The insufficiently high level of effectiveness of capital investments in the Nonchernozem Zone is further to be explained by the fact that the harvest yield of agricultural crops has remained low because a decisive course was not adopted, aimed at increasing the fertility of the agricultural land resources. Indicative in this regard is the position taken by the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and its sub-divisions: at times the land-reclamation specialists have been very concerned with how to "assimilate" some more funds, and, therefore, they have preferred capital-intensive projects rather than those which provide the most rapid return on investment. As a result, despite the fact that the scope of reclamation is incomparably greater than before, in Novgorod and Kalinin Oblasts after 1970 the areas of land available for agriculture have been reduced by one-fifth or more. Necessary measures have not been taken to restore what has been lost. In order to raise the effectiveness of land reclamation, it is necessary to turn to the yield of a reclaimed hectare, cultural-technical projects, and the elimination of fine-contouring systems. Not the intermediate indicators, as has been the case up to now, but primarily the end result, the actual addition to agricultural output, should be the yardstick of the success or failure of the land-reclamation and all other organizations, enterprises, ensuring agricultural production in one way or another. This demand by the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has not yet formed the basis of their activities, although certain shifts have been observed.

We can still recall the time when the potentials of the Nonchernozem Zone were regarded with a certain amount of scorn: what, they would say, do you expect to get on these podzol soils, on these patches of arable land scattered among age-old forests? Relapses of these former views manifest themselves even today. How else can we explain the fact that up to now the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building has not created a grain-harvesting combine of increased practicability, even though it was mandated to begin its production as far back as 1976?! New vehicles have begun to appear, but they are heavy-duty, huge, and designed for the expanses of the steppes. There, they say, is the principal grain crop.

It is, evidently, for these same reasons that the Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production has not furnished vehicles for the procurement of feeds at fine-contoured and excessively wet natural land resources. But their areas are enormous, they can provide a great deal, and the specialists are convinced that the fodder base will now increase primarily by means of meadows. A great deal is owed likewise to the Nonchernozem village by the RSFSR Ministry of Rural Construction, the USSR Ministry of Construction,

the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, the All-Russian Kolkhoz-Construction Association, and the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry.

Furthermore, D. N. Pryanishnikov has written: "Now we need to pay attention to that climatic region and to those soils on which Western Europe has exclusively built its intensive farming, namely, on Nonchernozem areas which are unacquainted with droughts and which, when fertilized, yield stable harvests of the Danish type, i.e., 30 quintals of grain per hectare." Other statements have been made of an even more decisive nature to the effect that, in time, the center of agriculture will shift to the regions with sufficient moisture and, hence, guaranteed harvests: in other words, to the Nonchernozem Zone.

Recently the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee discussed the question of the operational progress on carrying out the program for transforming the Nonchernozem Zone. It was proposed that the RSFSR Council of Ministers, ministries and departments, party obkoms and oblispolkoms accelerate the rate of development of its agriculture and the sectors connected with it. In preparing the plan for the 12th Five-Year Plan, it was deemed feasible to work out additional measures aimed at turning the Nonchernozem Zone into a zone of highly developed agriculture and animal husbandry. It is time to impart a more business-like quality to these projects; they must be carried out with a greater degree of scope, with greater persistence and comprehensiveness, taking into consideration the social and demographic uniqueness of each of the oblasts and each of the autonomous republics.

2384

CSO: 1800/178

## REGIONAL

### SHORTCOMINGS OF LENINGRAD THEATER PRODUCTIONS DISCUSSED

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 83

[Unsigned article: "The New Theatrical Season"]

[Text] Evenings the lights go out in packed theater auditoriums. The spectators become still in anticipation of the miracle of art. For this to occur and for expectations to be rewarded, the talent and skill of theatrical people must be used for the deep perception of life and productions must reflect the characteristic signs for the present time and reveal those new developments that enrich the spiritual life of Soviet society today. And naturally, each theater season has its own character.

The significant events that will largely determine the character of the new season are the 40th anniversary of Leningrad's liberation from the enemy's blockade and the 60th anniversary of renaming Petrograd as Leningrad. If we turn to the repertoire plans of Leningrad theaters, we would have to admit that the heroic, military-patriotic theme and the theme of struggle for peace actually occupy a prominent place in them. The Academic Drama Theater imeni A.S. Pushkin is working on staging a play by journalist and internationalist G. Zubkov "Monolog na gorodskoy ploshchadi" [Monologue in a City Square], describing the struggle of the people against imperialism. The Academic Theater imeni Lensovet is staging "Blokadnaya kniga" [The Blockade Book] by D. Granin and A. Adamovich. The Theater imeni V.F. Komissarzhevskiy is working on the production of "Novosel'ye v starom dome" [Housewarming in an Old House] by A. Kravtsov, dealing with the feat of Leningraders during the heroic days of the blockade. The historico-revolutionary theme is receiving systematic development on the stage of the Academic Bolshoy Dramatic Theater imeni M. Gorkiy. Trying to comprehend more deeply the worldwide historical significance of the "chief event of the 20th century," which determined both social-economic and spiritual, philosophical and moral changes in the life of the peoples of our country, the theater, in the wake of such Soviet classical works as "Optimisticheskaya tragediya" [An Optimistic Tragedy] and "Tikhiy Don" [The Quiet Don] is turning with the production of "Perechityvaya zanovo" [Rereading Again] to the staging of the well-known "Trilogiya o Maksime" [Trilogy About Maxim]. The production of F.E. Dzerzhinskiy's "Repetitsiya" [Rehearsal], based on a play by V. Savitskiy, is being readied on the stage of the Young Viewer's Theater. The Theater imeni Leninskiy komsomol showed A. Remez's Play "Put'" [The Road] on the young years of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin.

But now that it is started, the theatrical season reveals not only interesting and most reassuring plans but a great deal that is imperfect and unfinished. It cannot be said that the current repertoire absolutely has no significant works on contemporary themes. Let us name such productions as "Predel voz-mozhnogo" [Limit of the Possible], "Poka b'yetsya serdtse" [As Long as the Heart Beats], "Iz zhizni delovoy zhenshchiny" [From the Life of a Businesslike Woman]. But these are all productions of former years. The last season did not produce and the present one does not promise in the immediate future stage works that clearly and deeply disclose features of the Soviet way of life, characters of real heroes of our time, people with an active life position ensuring with their selfless labor the forward movement of our society.

Of late, party life in theaters has become markedly more active. Their primary organizations, whose membership includes many leading stage actors, have grown stronger. For this reason theater party organizations today can and must effectively influence the entire creative process. It is necessary to increase the responsibility of communists for the state of labor and creative discipline, for the process of ideological-moral education of actors and for the direction of repertoire searches of the theater.

We know that the theater begins with dramatic literature and a theatrical discovery is inevitably preceded by dramatic discovery: settings, characters and problems. A great deal depends here on creative contacts of playwrights with the theater and on their mutual capabilities and cocreativity. Unfortunately, plays written by Leningrad playwrights and young members of the drama section of the Leningrad branch of the USSR Writers Union are still rare on the stages of our city. Most productions discussing contemporaneity are staged by theaters concerned with prose works.

For a genuine artist, the main thing only begins with the selection of a work--intensive thinking, searching for a solution, an impressive stage expression of the idea of the play. And here too acute problems of the theatrical process are frequently disclosed. First of all--a lack of stage culture, which grants artistic freedom of choice, artistry, mastery of the expressive resources of the stage. Productions of a different ideo-artistic level appear on one and the same stage. Frequently the gap is so great between the artistic level of productions of the chief producers and those of the rank and file that it is difficult to recognize the troupe, its style and its manner. And then it is easy to see why such productions do not occupy a lasting place in the repertoire, are played rarely and quickly disappear from the stage. Such new but weak in the ideo-artistic sense productions as "Mel'nitsa schast'ya" [The Mill of Happiness] at the Academic Theater of Comedy and "Ne byl, ne sostoyal, ne uchastvoval...." [I Was Not Present, I Did Not Belong, I Did Not Participate....]. At the Theater imeni Leninskiy komsomol are doing a poor job of attracting viewers.

Some theaters frequently invite producers from outside and show little concern for training their own producer cadres. And while an intensive process of replacement of generations is proceeding among actors (each year, leading theaters receive an infusion of groups of graduates of theatrical VUZ's and successful debuts of young people in main roles of new productions and

successful starts in old ones), the problem of young producers and their creative growth remains acute as before. Frequently, after staging a production (or two at best), a young producer is not retained in the troupe. While the professional growth of this specialist requires certain conditions, the producer can be an artist, the producer can become an artist, an individual and grow into a big master, not wandering at the will of chance from theater to theater but systematically solving all the more complex ideo-artistic tasks.

Concern for the good name of a theater and for its prestige among viewers should oblige theater personnel to strictly analyze the whole creative process, to deeply study the state of affairs among the collective and to outline concrete realistic ways of overcoming defects and attaining new creative heights.

The theatrical stage is one of the sectors of the ideological front, an important medium of communist education of the masses. The viewer waits for productions that reveal the continuity of the revolutionary and labor traditions of our people and show the characteristic features of the Soviet way of life and affirm communist ideals. More attention must be paid to the development of the image of the positive hero, which, as pointed out in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Creative Ties of Literary-Artistic Journals with the Practice of Building of Communism" is today one of the urgent problems of our art and literature. These tasks should be resolved in their everyday practice by theatrical collectives today, tomorrow and throughout the entire theatrical season.

7697

CSO: 1800/184

KRASNOYARSK KRAYKOM CHIEF ON IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

[Editorial Report] Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 11, 1983 (signed to press 21 October 83) publishes on pages 17-25 a 4,000-word article entitled "A Comprehensive Solution for Complex Problems" by P. Fedirko, first secretary of Krasnoyarsk Kraykom. Fedirko discusses economic performance and social conditions in Krasnoyarsk Kray and comments on what he considers to be some of the more important problems facing party officials and economic managers. One of the main reasons for lagging economic performance, according to Fedirko, is the "underestimation of ideological and educational work in labor collectives and deficiencies in the assignment and training of cadres." Fedirko considers more effective and extensive ideological and political education as a basic means for overcoming current problems. He states that implementation of the June 1983 Central Committee plenum presupposes a "lengthy period of systematic work" aimed at "mobilizing the spiritual energy of the people and improving their labor and social activity."

LEADER OF EMBEZZLERS SENTENCED TO DEATH

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 Dec 83 on page 4 carries a 75-word announcement titled "In the Supreme Court of the Uzbek SSR." The article reports on the sentences handed down to a group of embezzlers at a Tashkent metal accessories plant. The leader of the group received the death penalty and confiscation of property; the remaining members of the group were sentenced "to long terms of deprivation of freedom with the confiscation of property."

MARI ASSR MVD OFFICIALS DISMISSED, DISCIPLINED

[Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Dec 83 on page 2 carries a 50-word announcement titled "A Fateful Crater." The announcement carries the response of the Mari ASSR Minister of Internal Affairs to an earlier published feuilleton which accused certain MVD officials in the Mari ASSR of corruption. The minister announces a reprimand for the deputy minister of internal affairs of the Mari ASSR; in addition, two local officials have been dismissed from the MVD altogether, while a third has been relieved of his duties.

UZBEK SOCIETY FOR BLIND FULFILLS PRODUCTION PLAN BY 12 DEC 83

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Dec 83 carries on page 1 a 40-word article noting that collectives of the Uzbek Society for the Blind had fulfilled production quotas ahead of schedule on 12 December 1983. "By the end of the year commodity production will be realized to the extent of 3,700,000 rubles supplementary to the plan."

## REGIONAL

### TURKMEN NOVEL PRAISES CHEKIST'S ROLE IN TRANSFORMING REPUBLIC

Moscow LITERATURN OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 11 Nov 83) p 83

[Review by T. Andreyeva (Volgograd) of Rakhim Esenov's novel "Teni 'Zheltogo Dominiona'" [Shadows of the "Yellow Dominion"], Book 2. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1983]

[Text] Rakhim Esenov's new novel portrays what may be the most astonishing time in the life of the Turkmen people. As late as the beginning of the 20th century the Turkmens preserved tribes, clans and even subclans [kolena]. Social relations were basically patriarchal-feudal, "sprinkled with" capitalist aspects. Nor was there political unity--the Turkmens did not have their own state. The Transcaspian was an enticing morsel to many: the British actively attempted to penetrate there, and the Germans scrupulously established their agencies. And the poor daykhanin or impoverished shepherds knew that Allah was far away but the bey was close by, that they must bow to the clan chief, unconditionally observe the ancient customs, and unfailingly pay the mullah, the khan, the emir, and the far-away "white padishah"--the Russian tsar.

For this reason, the struggle for the minds of these people was one of the most important tasks of the victorious socialist revolution.

Although the largest groups of Basmaches had been crushed, in the late 1920s and early 1930s Basmachestvo was still alive. The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee decided to set up the "Free Turkmens" group to free from the Basmach bands hiding in the sands all those who had been deceived and impressed into outlawry.

Nor were the emigre counterrevolutionary centers idle, centers working in close collaboration with underground enemies of Soviet rule. Lively interest was shown in "Turkmen affairs" by British intelligence emissaries Lawrence and Cayley. Agents were actively recruited by Velim-Khan Kysmat (as the chief of German intelligence Baron Mader called himself). And all of these "friends" of the Turkmen people supplied abundant weapons and money to still-at-large bands of Khaltashikhs, Balty-Batyr, and Ibragim-Beks. All the ups and downs of the difficult struggle for a Soviet Turkmenia are recounted in this novel.

Plundered auls, ash heaps where encampments had been, and frightened people--all of these required immediate action. Chekist Ashir Taganov--commander of the detachment--restrains his warriors, reminding them of the importance of their mission. The large armed detachment, moving peacefully across the desert, evokes first the astonishment and then the trust of the people. Communist Taganov, the novel's main hero, and his warriors bring to the desert people words of truth about a new life and convince them of their rightness through good deeds.

We will not deal with all the intricacies of the plot or recount battles and chases, the history of double and triple agents, and so on.

Esenov's novel is interesting to me for a different reason--the type of human personality portrayed in it. A brief excursus: In the early '30s the well-known Soviet psychologist A. R. Luriya conducted research in locations almost exactly coinciding with those described in the novel. The scientist asked local peasants to describe their own character, to tell how they differed from other people and what good and bad traits they could discern in themselves. The people found it difficult to answer such unaccustomed questions: all their past life was devoid of opportunities to think about such things....

By portraying the whole complexity of the historic birth of a new personality, Esenov's novel enables us to understand present history more deeply and correctly.

To the patriarchal consciousness (idealization of which is by no means inoffensive) the world has been explained and ordered prior to birth, one only needs to learn the earthly and heavenly hierarchy and avoid (God forbid!) making mistakes in the "table of ranks."

Life flows on unchanging, centuries behind, subjected to natural rhythms of land tillage and livestock breeding. Unhurried caravans arrive occasionally, crops ripen, livestock give birth, and when anything happens, everyone remembers ("Altybay's grandfather dug 12 wells, his father four"). Time does not exist, for no changes in the personality take place.

Esenov's heroes seem to live simultaneously in two eras: 50 and 500 years ago. And the heroes of the novel have to "make up" this enormous historical interval almost instantaneously.

Esenov's book is valuable primarily for its attempt to explore this dramatic process artistically. It is by no means a psychological detective novel, as S. Abramov, who wrote the epilogue to the book, believes; rather, it is an epic excerpt, a historical chronicle in which psychologism is probably ruled out by the genre itself. For the novel's heroes are essentially personages of the epic type, who perceive the world "without subtleties," classifying the people around them as either "bogatyrs" or "enemies." Ashir Taganov is convinced, for example, that the ingrained Basmach cannot meet death like a man. He categorically denies the enemy's bravery even in the face of reality of which he could be convinced, one might say, by his own eyes. Ashur believes that only a Red Turkmen is brave. This does not, however, attest to



the main hero's primitiveness but rather to the epic nature of the world perceived by the book's heroes.

A few remarks about the language of the novel. It cannot be called irreproachable. One of the characters, for example, for some unknown reason "wrapped his horse." Another "from to time in the semi-darkness...sought out the large triangular [?] multicolored talisman that brought victory." And I am not sure that anyone ever produced such a thing as "calico calico".... Of course, the book's editor may also be reproached for these errors and inaccuracies....

In this case, therefore, "overpraise" would be a disservice to the author (as always!). Because, in fact, R. Esenov does not need it. His novel has its own considerable and obvious merits. It is difficult to be at once interesting and solid. R. Esenov can do it.

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6854

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## REGIONAL

### CENTRAL ASIAN INTERREPUBLIC AFFILIATE OF ATHEISM INSTITUTE FOUNDED

Alma-Ata PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 3 Nov 83) p 90

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Kuchkarov, director of the Tashkent Interrepublic Affiliate of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences: "Methodology Center of Atheistic Propaganda"]

[Text] The editors have received a number of letters requesting discussion of the Interrepublic Affiliate of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences, which has been set up in Tashkent. We turn this discussion over to the director of the affiliate, Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Kuchkarov.

The affiliate has the job of working out topical problems of the theory and practice of scientific atheism and recommendations to party organizations in work on atheistic indoctrination of the population of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. It is also called upon to coordinate research in the field of atheism and publish scientific-atheistic literature.

At the present stage, atheistic indoctrination needs a new approach. It is important to reorient atheists from the handling of educational tasks to goal-oriented work. It is essential that propagandists, lecturers, and agitators be aware of the specific audience they are to face, the believers of which religious orientations they are to conduct individual work with, what specific goals they are to set, and what forms and methods to use. It is essential to ensure cyclicity, continuity, and feedback. Only then can we hope for success. It is a matter of specialization. This was mentioned by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "All party committees--in the republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons--must have specially trained cadres capable of organizing ideological work with different groups of the population (workers, kolkhozniks, intelligentsia, youth) and being responsible for this work. They should be authoritative and well-educated people. They must be provided with the necessary conditions, and care must be taken to provide for the regular upgrading of their qualifications."

Retraining of cadres has already begun in some republics. For example, instruction has been organized for party, soviet, and Komsomol workers involved

in atheistic propaganda in Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, and Turkmenistan. In Uzbekistan there have been seminars, conferences for raykom, gorkom, and obkom secretaries, and 10-day courses for lecturers specializing in atheistic propaganda.

We are also now arranging the publication of scientific-popular literature that is accessible to the broad masses of readers, methodology aids in the organization of atheistic work. Considering the specific needs of our republics, where a substantial portion of the population professes Islam, scientific-popular collections are in preparation: "Otvety veruyushchim" [Answers to Believers], "Mysliteli proshlogo o religii i ateizme" [Past Thinkers Concerning Religion and Atheism]. Ideological activists will be helped considerably by a textbook on scientific atheism (with an in-depth critique of Islamic ideology) for the party education system, which we intend to prepare jointly with the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences and the republic's scientists.

Soon to be completed, in addition, is the working out of methodology aids for party organizations involved in atheistic indoctrination of the population.

In organizing atheistic propaganda, it is very important to know the extent of religiosity among the various categories of the population and the effectiveness of the ideological-indoctrinational work being done. In the next few years plans call for conducting sociological research to study the role of the rural intelligentsia in the atheistic indoctrination of the population of our republics where, as we know, vestiges of Islam still prevail.

The affiliate's purview will include arranging atheistic indoctrination in the labor collectives, schools, vocational-technical schools, technicums, VUZes, and medical and cultural-educational institutions. Of increasing importance are questions of atheistic indoctrination in the neighborhoods. It must be kept in mind that each of us spends approximately 60 to 70 percent of the time in our neighborhoods, and children and people of advanced age spend up to 90 to 100 percent. Paradoxical as it may seem, however, not much attention has been focused on this segment of the work.

Old religious prejudices still prevail in residential districts and hinder the shaping of the new-type individual. It is essential to conduct meticulous work to adopt genuinely new rituals that are of socialist orientation in both form and content. It is essential to enhance the role of the labor collectives and social and youth organizations, yet frequently the initiative is in the hands of pensioners, relatives, sometimes religious people who impose the observance of all the old customs and rituals.

We trust that Kazakhstan's party activists and scientists will take active part in working out the urgent problems that have been posed by the affiliate's collective and will make their contribution toward enhancement of the effectiveness and further perfection of the forms and methods of atheistic indoctrination of the population.

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## REGIONAL

### ACADEMICS URGE ASSISTANCE FOR PRIVATE BIBLIOGRAPHIC COLLECTION

Alma-Ata PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 3 Nov 83) pp 94-95

[Article by writer and deputy to the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet D. F. Snegin, Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Academician and Honored Scientist B. A. Bykov, Kazakhstan Central State Museum Director R. I. Kosmambetova, Kazakh SSR State Library imeni A. S. Pushkin party organization secretary V. I. Saprykina, Kazakh SSR State Archives Director M. Zh. Khasanayev, and Republic Book Museum Director K. K. Gil'manov: "Closed Circle"]

[Text] About a year and a half ago, a reference biobibliographical office was set up in the Kazakh SSR Voluntary Society of Book Lovers. Its functions include taking inquiries and issuing information on materials of A. S. Danilov's personal holdings, which have been opened for public use at his request.

Few libraries, even large ones, have such a store of biographical-bibliographical references as was collected in 40 years of devoted labor by Aleksandr Sergeyevich Danilov. His card file includes about 140,000 names. Biographical references concerning well-known or little-known people who have one way or another left their mark in world history--scientists and writers, political figures and military commanders, performers and artists--are accompanied by bibliographic sources--that is, literature where more information is to be found.

A. S. Danilov has created additional holdings that are interesting and essential in the work of libraries, which include original reference material: a catalogue of books in Russian published in the USSR from 1917 through 1957 in all branches of knowledge and a catalogue of books by titles. He has also collected a philatelic collection of portraits of well-known world figures and a collection of stamped envelopes of the USSR Ministry of Communications issued from 1953 through 1983.

Having established the office, the society turned over its supervision to A. S. Danilov himself, a member of the society's board council, both because there is no one to work with the holdings and because there are no facilities for the card file: it is still in the collector's home, where conditions for work and safekeeping are unsuitable. To ensure that this enormous labor, which can be valuable to numerous people, does not languish as dead capital, a person or organization must be found to deal with its destiny. Is it im-

possible to find and set aside for this card file a special facility in Alma-Ata? Otherwise it will be necessary to "invite oneself" into Aleksandr Sergeyevich's cramped little home and work with the catalogue and cards to the "accompaniment" of children's voices, for the host's inquisitive grandchildren are always underfoot....

The Book Lover's Society keeps getting letters. The Tashkent library needs information about the works of Al-Khorezmi, for the staff is preparing a bibliographic index for the 1200th jubilee of the great medieval scientist. The collection is the object of interest of scientists in Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Kiev, Alma-Ata, and many other cultural centers. Writers need additional information about their heroes--participants in the Civil War or the first years of the five-year plans--and dictionary compilers need various information to supplement the materials they have collected.

A. S. Danilov is forced to answer inquiries and add to his collection under difficult circumstances. But as long as the effort was his personal hobby he could count on his own resources, on himself alone. Now, however, when this man's unique work has become the property of the community, it needs help.

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